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THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

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Editorial

INDEX OR NO INDEX?

At the Nashville meeting in the spring of 1928 the undersigned as a member of the Executive Committee and business manager proposed to the Committee that plans be formulated for publishing an exhaustive Index of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL as soon as practicable after the completion of the twenty-fifth volume in June, 1930. This suggestion was approved by the Committee and adopted at the business session of the Association. The new editors-in-chief, who were authorized to employ some one to prepare the copy for such an Index, secured the services of Professor F. H. Potter of the University of Iowa for this purpose, and the text of his Index has been in process of preparation during many months.

An editorial in the JOURNAL for last February set forth the situation and urged readers to make use of a blank in the advertising section in order to indicate the degree of their interest in the enterprise. The replies to this invitation were sufficiently favorable so that at the New Orleans meeting last April the editors-in-chief were instructed to proceed with the Index, provided that certain financial details could be satisfactorily arranged. An essential factor in these details is, of course, the number of copies to be printed as foreshadowed by the number of advance

orders received and at the same time as indicating the amount of money available; and accordingly an opportunity¹ to subscribe at the reduced rate of \$2 was included in the annual letter issued from the office of the secretary-treasurer.

The whole matter has now come to a crisis: the manuscript of the Index is ready for the printer, bids have been obtained, and the volume can be rushed through in time for publication next spring; but the advance orders secured, though encouraging as a beginning, are not adequate to warrant signing the contract with the printers at the present juncture of affairs. The editors-in-chief are convinced that such an Index would be wanted by a large fraction of JOURNAL readers, but they dare not transgress the limits of their instructions. Of the value of the Index in opening up the riches of twenty-five volumes of the JOURNAL to classical teachers and research workers no one can doubt. Every reader of the JOURNAL who regards the teaching of Latin as his profession and even those who have only a few volumes of the JOURNAL in their files simply *must* desire such an important addition to their working equipment.

The proposition, therefore, rests in the hands of our readers, who are requested to act at once by filling out the order blank in the advertising section of this issue. It should be understood that \$2 is a special price meant to encourage advance subscriptions and help in estimating the demand. After January 1, 1931, the price will be raised to \$2.25, and to \$2.50 after publication next spring. Please save yourselves money and assist your officers by subscribing now.

R. C. F.

¹ It should be noted that the earlier blanks were mere "trial balloons" and not orders. Therefore those who indicated their attitude in response to the first invitation should now send in their orders on the blank provided in this number of the JOURNAL.

SOME REMARKS ON THE CHARACTER OF AENEAS

By CHARLES KNAPP
Barnard College, Columbia University

In the Preface to the second version of my edition of the *Aeneid*¹ I wrote, *inter alia*, words which I give here in a modified and expanded form:

In the Commentary much — very much — has been written concerning Vergil's own interpretation of his chief characters. This statement is true especially of notes on Book IV, concerning the poet's interpretation of the conduct of Aeneas and that of Dido, and of many comments on the Selections from Books VII-XII, e.g. comments which deal with Vergil's conception of the character of Turnus. Finally, the notes will prove that Aeneas was a real human being, capable of reverting, as he does in Books II, X, and XII, to elemental savagery, and that what many a critic of high rank has described as the absence of all feeling in Aeneas is in reality a splendid thing, none too common at any time in the world's history, the complete mastery by a strong man of the passions to which lesser men give free rein.

The editors of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL have suggested that I bring together in a paper the material which, to my mind, justifies the statement contained in the last sentence of the foregoing passage.

Students, younger and older both, frequently express the opinion that Aeneas is too completely god-controlled, so that he is not a true, red-blooded hero, acting on his own initiative, but a marionette strung on strings that are worked by the gods or by fate, a sort of puppet like the *neurospaston* mentioned in ancient writers, a doll whose arms and legs could be worked by strings. This conception students gain not only from their own inattentive reading of the *Aeneid* and their own defective interpretation of the poem, but they gain it also from statements that have been expressed all too often in print.

It may be remarked here, at the outset, that our individualistic

¹ Chicago, Scott, Foresman and Co. (1928), 5.

age, whose slogan seems to be self-determinism, is in some ways less fitted than any other age since Vergil's time to understand anyone, hero, man or woman, who is willing to subject himself to any control. Yet the spectacle of a man of strong feelings, of a will of his own, who has succeeded in subordinating those feelings and that will to the will of God or of the gods or of fate, is not exactly a spectacle that should call forth contempt. Rather should it call forth admiration.

But, one may ask, what proof have we that Aeneas was, in fact, a man of strong feelings, a man with a will of his own, a "red-blooded hero"? Well, let us look at him as he describes himself in Book II, in the course of his story of the Fall of Troy. At the very outset (vss. 3-9) he sets forth to Dido two reasons why she should not insist that he tell the tale of the Fall of Troy and of his long wanderings: first, the tale is far too painful (vss. 3-6 and 6-8) and, second, the night is far spent (8f). Is he bragging in the words *quaeque . . . fui*? Such an interpretation, all too common, I am sure, is a grave misinterpretation. Aeneas means, in brief, "I felt those events too deeply, I feel them too deeply now, to wish to tell the tale." We have a right — and a duty — to interpret this passage in the light of what Vergil himself says about the attitude of Aeneas as he sought to comfort his comrades after they had escaped shipwreck by the storm (I, 208f):

*Talia voce refert, curisque ingentibus aeger
spem vultu simulat, premit altum corde dolorem.*

Here, then, alike in the poet's words and in Aeneas' own words Aeneas is described as a man of deep feeling, but also as a man who had his feelings under control. This helps us to understand better Aeneas' outcry in I, 94-101:

*O terque quaterque beati
quis ante ora patrum Troiae sub moenibus altis
contigit oppetere! O Danaum fortissime gentis
Tydide! Mene Iliacis occumbere campis
non potuisse tuaque animam hanc effundere dextra,
saevus ubi Aeacidæ telo iacet Hector, ubi ingens
Sarpedon, ubi tot Simois correpta sub undis
scuta virum galeasque et fortia corpora volvit!*

Frightful indeed must have been the storm that called forth this cry and made the man who was the present leader of a group of exiles and the destined founder of a mighty empire as helpless, as completely swayed by his emotions as were, at the prospect of the battle with Ariovistus, the *tribuni militum*, the *praefecti*, *reliquique qui ex urbe amicitiae causa Caesarem secuti non magnum in re militari usum habebant* (*De Bello Gallico* I, 39, 3; see also §§ 4-7).

How did Aeneas learn that the Greeks were, at last, in possession of Troy? *In somnis* (II, 270), from the spirit of *maestissimus Hector*. Mark the words in which Hector's spirit conveys the dread truth to Aeneas (vss. 289-95). What does Aeneas do? Does he obey Hector's injunction (vs. 289), *Heu, fuge, nate dea . . .*? Does he note Hector's statement (vss. 291f) that not even a Hector could do aught, now, for Troy? Does he note that now not fighting, but the guarding of the *sacra Troiana*, of the *Penates Troiani* is his task, and that he can discharge that task only by departure from Troy and flight across the seas (vss. 293-95)? Not at all. He climbs to the roof of his father's house, to get the widest possible view of the city and to test for himself the truth of Hector's statements (vss. 298-313). He finds those statements all too true. Does he flee? Mark the words in which, in vss. 314-17, he condemns the senselessness of fighting under such circumstances:

*Arma amens capio; nec sat rationis in armis,
sed glomerare manum bello et concurrere in arcem
cum sociis ardent animi; furor iraque mentem
praecipitant, pulchrumque mori succurrit in armis.*

As he steps out of his house, the futility of fighting *pro patria* is at once presented to his consciousness, alike through objective act and fact and through words, in the coming of Panthus to his door and in the tale Panthus tells (vss. 318-35). At great length Panthus assures Aeneas that all is lost and that fighting will be vain and fruitless. How do fact and words affect Aeneas? He tells us himself (vss. 336-38):

*Talibus Othryadae dictis et numine divum
in flammis et in arma feror, quo tristis Erinys,
quo fremitus vocat et sublatum ad aethera clamor.*

His speech to those who gather about him, instantly and automatically accepting him as their leader, shows clearly that he enters the fight with no illusions. He is fully aware of the uselessness of the struggle (vss. 348-54):

Warriors true, souls bravest of the brave, if your yearning hearts are so firmly set to follow one who essays the uttermost hazards — you see what the status of our interests is: gone are they, every one, quitting their holy of holies, quitting their altars, the gods through whose aid this sovereignty of ours had stood firm — let us die and rush into the thick of the conflict. There is but one safety for conquered men — to forego all hope of safety.

Is he relying here on the gods? Is he not rather defying the gods, the gods of Troy that plainly have withdrawn their favor from Troy and from all its people, and thus have, in a sense, forbidden its people to fight longer in its behalf? Note, too, Aeneas' comment (vss. 355-60) on the effect of his speech.

Mark next that Aeneas, the experienced captain, leader of this group of his country's supporters, interposes not a word of objection to the proposal of *iuvenis Coroebus* (vs. 341), that they put on the warlike gear of the Greeks they have just slain (vss. 387-91). Not here does he stop to ask what the gods would have him do. For that matter why should he ask the will of the gods of whom he has so lately (vs. 351) said, *Excessere omnes . . . di*? Yet the words which he puts into the mouth of Coroebus (vs. 390), *Dolus an virtus, quis in hoste requirat?* are in effect a vigorous condemnation, by Coroebus himself, of the proposal *clipeos mutare Danaumque insignia aptare*. One who *arma amens ceperat nec sat rationis in armis* (cf. vss. 314f), who so lately *animis iuvenum furorem addiderat* (vs. 355), was not likely to see the bearing of Coroebus' question in vs. 390. After the fatal issue of the exchange of armor (vss. 391-430), Aeneas sums up his own part in it all in these words (431-37):

Ashes of Ilium, and funeral fires of my countrymen, I call you to witness that in your fall I avoided not any missiles flung by Greeks, avoided not any hazards at their hands, and that, had it been the will of the Fates that I should fall, I earned that fall by my prowess.

We are wrested thence, Iphitus and Pelias and I, Iphitus weighted

down already by years, Pelias made slow by a wound dealt by Ulysses. Straightway we are called by the battle-clamor to the house of Priam.

On Aeneas' account of what he saw from the roof of Priam's palace there is no need to dwell. But the reader should note especially vss. 554-63.

One of the most striking things about Book II of the *Aeneid* is the way in which *pius Aeneas*, roused from sleep by the vision in which Hector appears to him (vss. 268-97), forgot everything save the fighting-man's supreme duty, to fight. No thought of Anchises, of Creusa, of Ascanius enters his mind. He forgets, too, in reality, his country, until the moment when, as helpless spectator, he sees Priam fall. The sight of the fate of Polites (vss. 526-32) had not made Aeneas think of Ascanius. Nor, from anything that Aeneas says, can we infer that the sight of Hecuba and the other women (vss. 515-20) had made him think of Creusa. All these he forgets till he sees Priam die (vss. 555f).

It is well known that, according to the ancient tradition, preserved for us in Servius, the literary executors of Vergil (Plotius Tucca and L. Varius Rufus), removed from Vergil's manuscript of the *Aeneid* vss. 567-88 of Book II, the whole scene dealing with Aeneas' discovery of Helen skulking in the temple of Vesta, and with his mad desire to slay her, in order to avenge his fallen country and the sufferings of his countrymen. At sight of Helen, *quae aris invisâ sedebat*, Aeneas forgets at once, again, the father, the son, and the wife of whom he had been reminded by the sight of Priam's fate. As he espied Helen, *Troiae et patriae communis Erinys* (vs. 573), at once (vss. 575f)

*exarsere ignes animo; subit ira cadentem
ulcisci patriam et sceleratas sumere poenas.*

Let us mark not only these two verses, but also vss. 577-87, especially 583-87:

Shall this woman, shall she, unscathed, view Sparta and Mycenae, the land of her fathers, and shall she depart, a queen, her triumph won, and shall she see her mate, her home, her father, her mother, and her children, attended by a press of Trojan women and by Phrygian slaves? Shall Priam have fallen by the sword? Shall Troy have blazed with

fires? Shall the Dardan strand have reeked so often with Dardan blood? Not so, not so, for, though there is no name worth the mentioning in punishing a *woman*, and though victory o'er a *woman* wins no praise, yet for blotting out a creature who is sin itself, for exacting vengeance of one who is richly earning punishment, I shall be praised by all the world. It will be a joy, too, to glut my own soul with the fires of vengeance and to have appeased the ashes of my countrymen.

Is there any lack of feeling here? Are we dealing with a marionette, worked on strings god-drawn, or are we dealing with a man no stranger to the passions of elemental savagery, of human nature in its raw state?²

Let us turn now to the later books, those books in which Aeneas, schooled by sorrows and, above all, by his interview with the spirit of his father, is, in the main, self-contained and calm. Look first at x, 510-604, a passage describing what Aeneas does when he hears that Pallas is dead, the boy he had known but a little while. We meet here a startlingly different Aeneas, a man who seems to have not a touch of mercy in his soul, not an atom of self-control. But all that he does is deftly explained by Vergil in the opening verses of the passage (510-17):

*Nec iam fama mali tanti, sed certior auctor
advolat Aeneae tenui discrimine leti
esse suos: tempus versis succurrere Teucris.
Proxima quaeque metit gladio, latumque per agmen
ardens limitem agit ferro, te, Turne, superbum
caede nova, quaerens. Pallas, Euander, in ipsis
omnia sunt oculis, mensae, quas advena primas
tunc adiit, dextraeque datae.*

And now not mere talk, mere rumor about calamity so dire, but unerring warranty speeds to Aeneas, that his warriors are but a hair's breadth removed from death; the Teucrians are routed, runs the warning, and it is time to haste to their aid. What he finds near him, that again and

² Elsewhere in Book II there is abundant evidence that Aeneas was by nature a man of strong feelings. I refer to the account of the loss of Creusa. Witness first the utter confusion of language in the passage in which Aeneas describes her loss (*heu! misero . . . incertum*, vss. 738-740; see my note, and those of other editors, on this passage). Next the whole passage in which Aeneas describes his search for Creusa (vss. 745-70) should be carefully studied; particular attention might well be paid to vss. 745f, 749-51, 768-70 (this last passage the reader should view with vss. 755-67 fully in mind).

again he reaps with his blade, and, all aflame, he drives through the press with his steel a broad track, making for you, Turnus, as you exult proudly in the blood you have so lately shed. Pallas, Evander are before his eyes, yes, all that has happened — the table to which first, a new-comer, he drew near in those memorable days, and the pledges given to him there.

Need we wonder, then, that his first act is pictured by these words (vss. 517-20)?

*Sulmone creatos
quattuor hic iuvenes, totidem quos educat Ufens,
viventis rapit, inferias quos immolet umbris
captivoque rogi perfundat sanguine flammās.*

Four warrior sons of Sulmo, and as many that Ufens had reared he seizes, living all, that he may offer them as sacrifices to the shades [of Pallas], and may drench [Pallas'] funeral pyre with captive blood.

Wild indeed must have been the grief that mastered this soul, normally so calm and so collected, at least to all outward seeming, and made its first reaction a reversion to a savage custom (a custom, we may be sure, repulsive to Vergil's sensitive soul). Mark, too, Magus' plea for mercy, and Aeneas' merciless answer (vss. 524-29 and 531-34):

*Per patrios Manis et spes surgentis Iuli
te precor, hanc animam serves gnatoque patrique.
Est domus alta, iacent penitus defossa talenta
caelatis argenti, sunt auri pondera facti
infectique mihi. Non hic victoria Teucrum
vertitur, aut anima una dabit discrimina tanta.*

By the spirit of your father and by the hopes inspired by Iulus' dawning manhood I make to you my prayer: spare my life, save it for my son and for my sire. There is a towering home, in whose deeps lie stored massive weights of carven silver, a home wherein I have, too, great stores of gold, some wrought, some unminted. Not here, not on me, does the Trojans' victory turn, nor will a single life produce difference so great.

*Argenti atque auri memoras quae multa talenta,
gnatis parce tuis. Belli commercia Turnus
sustulit ista prior iam tum Pallante perempto.
Hoc patris Anchisae Manes, hoc sentit Iulus.*

The many and massive weights of silver and of gold of which you

prate spare for your own sons. Such trafficking in war as you suggest Turnus first swept away, long ago, when he slew Pallas. So thinks the spirit of my sire Anchises, so thinks Iulus.

Note that he slays, without hesitation, Haemon's son, priest of Phoebus and Trivia (vss. 537-41). Note his brutal words to Tarquitus (vss. 557-60):

*Istic nunc, metuende, iace. Non te optima mater
condet humi patrioque onerabit membra sepulcro:
alitibus linquere feris, aut gurgite mersum
unda feret piscesque impasti vulnera lambent.*

Lie now where you are, dread warrior. Your worthy mother will not bestow you in the earth or load your body with the tomb of your sires. No; you will be left to the wild herds, or else your body, 'whelmed in the swirling waters, the waves will sweep this way and that, and the unfed fishes will lick your wounds.³

All these things, and more, he does, he says, as he grieves for a lad whom, let us remember, he had known for but a few short days.

Finally, mark the closing verses of the *Aeneid* (xii, 930-52). I shall take the space to quote only 945-51:

*Ille, oculis postquam saevi monumenta doloris
exuviasque hausit, furiis accensus et ira
terribilis, "Tunc hinc spoliis indute meorum
eripiare mihi? Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas
immolat et poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit."
Hoc dicens, ferrum adverso sub pectore condit
fervidus.*

I shall, however, translate the entire passage:

Prostrate and suppliant, straining eyes and right hand in entreaty, Turnus cries, "I have earned my fate, nor do I seek by entreaty to avert it. But if regard for a hapless father can touch your heart at all (you too had a sire, Anchises, in like plight), pity, I pray, the old age of Daunus, and restore me, or, if it be your will, my body, despoiled of life, to my people. Victory is yours; Ausonia's sons have seen me vanquished

³ My note on *Non . . . lambent* (vss. 557-60) runs as follows: "Note that Aeneas's ferocity (cf. 517-520, with notes, 531-534, 556) makes him sink to crudity and vulgarity which nowhere else mark and mar his language. Note once more that his savagery is justified by the fact that it is due to his grief over the death of Pallas. Yet he had known Pallas but a few days!"

and stretching out my hands in defeat; Lavinia is your bride; strain not farther in hatred." Aeneas halted, a fiery, war-clad figure, rolling his eyes, and he stayed his hand, and more and more Turnus' words were swaying his soul and making him waver, when of a sudden high up on Turnus' shoulder there flashed the luckless baldric, and the belt of Pallas, youthful Pallas, gleams with its well-known studs; him Turnus had mastered and had laid low with his destroying weapon, and on his own shoulders now was wearing a foeman's proud emblem. Soon as Aeneas drank in with his eyes the reminders of pain so merciless and recognized the spoils, at once, afire with madness and terrible with rage, he cries, "Are *you*, a man clad in spoils taken from my allies, are *you* to wrest yourself from this plight, from *me*? *Pallas* slays you with this wound, *Pallas*; *he* exacts due penalty from your sin-stained blood." E'en as he said these words, all aglow he buried his blade within his foeman's breast; Turnus' frame is unstrung by the chill of death, and his life, protesting, fled with a groan to the spirit-world.

Let us now consider how, in another book (Book iv), Vergil helps us to understand his feeling about his main characters, how effectively he characterizes the conduct of Aeneas and Dido without resorting to the minute, not to say microscopic, analysis employed today by certain writers, or to their elaborate verbal portrayals. To simplify the discussion here, I will not enlarge upon Vergil's portrayal of Dido.⁴ I will rather ask, What did Vergil think of Aeneas' conduct?

That Aeneas "loved" Dido Vergil does not, at first, assert in set terms. Yet the implications of his narrative are clear. Aeneas makes no protest, demurs not as Dido takes him through her city, parading before him the wealth of Tyre and the *urbs parata*, his for the taking (*Sidonias . . . ostentat opes urbemque paratam*, iv, 75⁵), or as, night after night, Dido bids him tell again, and yet again, the tale of the fall of Troy (vss. 77-79). What save passion for the queen that was his hostess could have made Aeneas forget his mission, a mission of which every sight of his *quassatae . . . rates* (vs. 53) should have reminded him? In the light of such considerations we are entitled to see condemnation of Aeneas too in verses which, on the surface, relate to Dido only (vss. 86-89), for these verses are, *mutatis mutandis*, as true

⁴ On this point, cf. my notes on iv, 19 and 552.

⁵ Cf. my note ad loc. on *opes urbemque*.

of Aeneas' disregard of duty as they are of Dido's treachery to her high calling:

*Non coepit adsurgunt turres, non arma iuventus
exercet, portusve aut propugnacula bello
tuta parant; pendent opera interrupta, minaeque
murorum ingentes, aequataque machina caelo.*

Witness next the "bridal" in the grot in the storm, the storm that interrupted the hunting (vss. 165-72). This scene would be sordid in the extreme if Aeneas was, himself, wholly free from passion. The delicacy with which Vergil handles this episode is so great that to many a reader (especially young readers, *dis gratias*) its implications are not apparent at all.⁶

Mark what Vergil says of Aeneas' actions after the injunction to depart from Carthage has been brought to him from Jupiter by Mercury (vss. 288-95):

*Mnesthea Sergestumque vocat fortemque Serestum,
classem aptent taciti sociosque ad litora cogant,
arma parent, et quae rebus sit causa novandis
dissimulent; sese interea, quando optima Dido
nesciat et tantos rumpi non speret amores,
temptaturum aditus, et quae mollissima fandi
tempora, quis rebus dexter modus. Ocius omnes
imperio laeti parent et iussa facessunt.*

We note that here the poet uses two modes of characterization. First, speaking in *propria persona*, he uses the words *tanti . . . amores* both of Dido and of Aeneas. By doing this he tells us much. But far more powerful is the word *laeti*, brought in nearly at the close of the passage in which it stands (vs. 295). Could the poet more sharply, more mercilessly have condemned his hero? Is not the joy with which Aeneas' comrades carry out orders to make ready for departure a condemnation of the long dallying in Carthage, of Aeneas' inaction there? Surely, to paraphrase certain famous words of Cicero, *taciti clamant de errore, immo vero de flagitiis Aeneae*.

⁶ Vergil's delicacy, by the way, makes me think of the extraordinary delicacy with which in his *Hecyra* Terence handles a theme that might easily have been handled in revolting fashion, or of the delicacy with which Plautus, that Roman Ralph Roister Doister, a "lusty brute," in his *Amphitruo* portrays Alcmena.

Two years ago I witnessed a dramatization of the story of Aeneas and Dido. The author had put together the story largely in Vergil's own words. The joy which the undergraduate actors showed by face and by body when they heard here the command to make ready for departure told me once more — and most effectively — what I had felt time and again as I read the passage.

To prevent us from forgetting the impression which he is seeking to make here (vs. 295) the poet brings that passage back to our minds by words which he puts into Dido's mouth (vss. 416-18):

*Anna, vides toto properari litore circum:
undique convenere; vocat iam carbasus auras,
puppibus et laeti nautae imposuere coronas.*

Let us note that, in iv, 292, the word *amores* is used of Aeneas' passion as it is of Dido's. So, in iv, 307, Dido speaks of *noster amor*. Again, in iv, 531-32, the poet says of Dido,

*Ingeminant curae, rursusque resurgens
saevit amor, magnoque irarum fluctuat aestu.*

In vi, 24 we have the words *crudelis amor tauri* used of Pasiphae's passion. The reader of Plautus will recall how often *amor* and *amores* are used in his comedies of an illicit passion. The word *amor* is like *voluptas*, in that it may at any time take on an evil meaning.

Let us turn now to the opening verses of Book v (vss. 1-7):

*Interea medium Aeneas iam classe tenebat
certus iter, fluctusque atros Aquilone secabat,
moenia respiciens, quae iam infelicis Elissae
conlucent flammis. Quae tantum accenderit ignem
causa latet, duri magno sed amore dolores
polluto notumque furens quid femina possit
triste per augurium Teucrorum pectora ducunt.*

I should translate vss. 4-7 as follows:

What cause has kindled so huge a fire lies hidden, but the [thought of the] cruel pangs that arise when a mighty passion has been outraged[†] and the knowledge of the lengths to which a frenzied woman can go guide the souls of the Trojans through auguries laden with sorrow.

[†] One may well think here of Catullus and Lesbia. Surely the final rupture

Dr. W. Warde Fowler, in his *Roman Essays and Interpretations*,⁸ wrote thus of the words *polluto amore*:

Polluto is usually taken as meaning spoilt or ruined by Aeneas's desertion; *amor* being 'sacred,' as Mr. Page says. But was *amor* sacred in any Roman sense? Far from it. Mackail translates 'trampled,' which seems to me far from the mark. Servius has 'laeso.' But these interpreters do not seem to notice that Virgil is speaking of the effect of the fire on the mind of the Trojans, who would be far from attributing the 'pollutio' to their loved leader.⁹ To me it seems more likely that Virgil is here reflecting his own view of the mischief, viz. that Dido's love was, or had become, poisoned by her own madness; hence the words that follow, '*furens quid femina possit*,' which cannot be separated in meaning from those which precede them.

This paragraph is a curious jumble of truth and falsity. Dr. Fowler is right in seeing that *amor* has a bad sense in *Aeneid* iv and here, but he is wholly wrong in interpreting *amore* in v, 5 of Dido alone. We saw a few moments ago that in iv, 292 and 307 Vergil used *amor* both of Dido and of Aeneas. If Vergil could condemn Aeneas, as he certainly did condemn him, in Book iv,¹⁰ both in his own person and through Aeneas' loving followers, for *amor*, why can he not condemn him for *amor* now again, in Book v? Why can he not let that condemnation come all the more sharply through condemnation by the Trojans themselves of their "loved leader"? It is certainly possible enough to see flaws in a beloved person and yet to keep on loving him or her. I believe, then, that my note on *magno . . . amore . . . polluto*, v, 5f, in the 1928 version of my edition of the *Aeneid*, is far closer to the truth than the remarks just quoted from Dr. Fowler; indeed, I venture to think that my note gives a far better interpretation of their relations seemed to Catullus an instance of *magnus amor pollutus*. The "loves" of Catullus and Lesbia were, by any standard, ancient or modern, *amor*, in the bad sense of that word; Lesbia's falsity "polluted" that *amor*, surely, to the mind of Catullus.

⁸ Oxford, Clarendon Press (1920), 189.

⁹ But look again at iv, 294f!! See my comments, above, on that passage. — C. K.

¹⁰ Cf. my notes, on *dulcis* iv, 281, on *nesciat . . . amores*, iv, 292, on *Ocius . . . laeti . . . facessunt*, iv, 294f, and on *noster*, iv, 307.

those lines than has anywhere else appeared in print. My note runs as follows:

Magno . . . amore . . . polluto, *when a mighty passion has been outraged*, a powerful expression, giving, as a review of Book iv, Vergil's view of the love of Dido and Aeneas each for the other. Both Dido and Aeneas sinned; both outraged *amor*, Dido by being false to her vow to Sychaeus (see notes on *uni . . . culpa*, iv, 19, and on iv, 552), Aeneas by leaving Dido, even though in leaving her he was doing his highest duty (see note on *pius*, iv, 393).

THE FUNCTION OF THE GODS IN VERGIL'S *AENEID*

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Probably every teacher of the *Aeneid* in high school or college has repeatedly been confronted by students with such questions as these: "Did Vergil really believe in the gods?" "Are we supposed to think that Cupid was actually substituted for Ascanius?" "Don't you think it spoils the story to have the gods always meddling in human affairs?" Such questions cannot be answered categorically, neither can they with impunity be left unanswered. A certain university professor, being asked to explain his negative attitude towards the classics, said: "I read Vergil in high school and didn't like him; I thought his characters were sticks, and his story had no relation to human life. If the *Aeneid* is the high point of Latin literature, why read Latin at all?" While it is to be hoped that few students of Vergil would agree with him, yet I have known, at one time or another, a good many immature readers of the *Aeneid* whose attitude toward the characters of the story, especially the hero himself, ranged from slightly contemptuous to distinctly resentful. This attitude, I believe, is due not so much to moral reprobation of the conduct of Aeneas and the rest, as to the rather widespread conventional view that the human characters are literally "sticks" — puppets in the hands of the gods.¹ The objection to divine intervention, as usually interpreted,

¹ Professor Prescott says: "If one charged him with turning his characters into puppets, he would accept the criticism as a compliment; he is simply visualizing what he regards to be the truth of his philosophical creed — in all human actions the godhead is the impelling force"; cf. *The Development of Virgil's Art*: Chicago, University of Chicago Press (1927), 261. While this statement is in a sense merely the obverse of the view I am setting forth, nevertheless it is, in my opinion, either unintelligible or wholly misleading to present-day students making their first acquaintance with the *Aeneid*.

becomes especially strong in the fourth book, where it appears that Dido, who has already been tricked by Venus into falling in love with Aeneas, is now tricked by Juno into a false marriage with him, only to have him snatched away, without volition on the part of either, by the intervention of Jupiter and Mercury. This exaggerated version of the "puppet" theory, which some students actually hold, inevitably destroys true appreciation of Vergil's purposes, and especially of his value to the modern world.

How shall we, then, interpret Vergil's gods? Of the many answers to this question which have been propounded by scholars, some, such as various allegorical interpretations, involve either inconsistency or fine-spun fancies; others, based upon the philosophical and religious thought of Vergil's day (itself a fertile field of controversy), however sound they may be, are, to me at any rate, too vague for personal satisfaction and too abstract to impart to a class of puzzled students.² I have tried, therefore, by examining all cases in the poem in which gods appear as actors, or as influencing human action, to work out from the *Aeneid* itself a theory consistent with the purposes of Vergil as we know them, and simple enough to aid the efforts of young students toward the apprehension of those purposes.

That the religious purpose of the *Aeneid* is primarily concerned with *Fata*, or Destiny, is well recognized. As Sellar³ says: "It was Vergil's aim in the *Aeneid* to show that this edifice of Roman Empire, of which the enterprise of Aeneas was the foundation . . . was no mere work of human hands, but had been designed and built up by divine purpose and guidance." To this impersonal power the gods themselves were subordinate. The ultimate philosophical problem of fate and free will, whether of subordinate deities or of men, inherent in this concept, need not be discussed

² For example Prescott, *op. cit.*, pp. 250-53, especially p. 252: "His general attitude is a compromise between his own personal convictions, which appear only beneath the surface, and the Homeric conventional treatment of the gods as part of epic machinery on the one hand, and orthodox Roman notions of the gods on the other."

³ Cf. Sellar, *Roman Poets of the Augustan Age — Virgil*³: Oxford, Clarendon Press (1883), 326.

here, because it is not discussed in the *Aeneid*; a certain compatibility of the two is assumed, though not explained. I doubt whether it will ever be possible to say with assurance what were Vergil's personal convictions about the literal existence of plural anthropomorphic deities. This uncertainty is partly due, as has often been pointed out, to his use of Homeric mythological material, inevitable in the epic tradition, in combination with national Roman and individual religious ideas. The citation of Homeric parallels, however, though interesting for the explanation of the form into which various scenes with divine actors are cast, seems to me irrelevant in explaining the purpose of such scenes.⁴ Our object is to discover, specifically, what Vergil intends us to understand as the function of his divine characters in the action of the *Aeneid*.

In the narrative, the gods, as mediate powers, naturally function in two ways: with reference to the supreme power, *Fata*, and with reference to human beings. I believe that in both connections their activities are best interpreted as primarily symbolic, but that two different types of symbolism are employed. The fact that many of the same deities and the same divine actions necessarily operate in both directions, linking the deeds of men with the purposes of Destiny, has obscured the double rôles and the two-fold significance of certain deities; the one function — the relation of the gods to Fate — has been generally recognized, while the other, so far as I am aware, has not been adequately explained.

As the main plot of the *Aeneid*, outlined in the first seven verses of the poem, takes Aeneas, under Destiny, *Troiae . . . ab oris* to *Italiam . . . Laviniaque . . . litora*, with the foreshadowing of the "walls of lofty Rome," so the secondary plot, perhaps better called the superplot, deals with the activities of Juno in attempting to thwart that Destiny. Its importance in relation to the main action is brought out by a symmetrical arrangement at the beginning and at the end of the poem: the introductory verses are

⁴ For example the descent of Mercury (*Aeneid* iv, 222-78) to Aeneas closely parallels the sending of Hermes to Calypso (*Odyssey* v, 28-148), but the purposes of the two messages are different. See p. 117, below.

immediately followed by the passage (I, 8-11) in which the Muse is invoked to explain the hostility of the Queen of the Gods to the hero; and in the twelfth book the duel between Turnus and Aeneas, which forms the dénouement of the main plot, is immediately preceded by the scene (XII, 791-841) in which Juno submits to Fate at Jove's request and renounces her hatred of the Trojans in consideration of certain concessions. This superplot reveals, along with the idea of Destiny, a dualistic conception of opposing forces in the universe. Though Fate is immutable and ultimately invincible, yet its ends are not attained without a struggle. The *casus* and *labores* which prevent the easy and direct attainment of the goal are caused by an antagonistic power, which in the story of Aeneas is represented by Juno.⁵ The poet's purpose in the action of the superplot is to exalt the supreme power of Destiny, specifically as revealed in the high destiny of Rome, by prolonging the struggle and magnifying the opposing force over which it finally triumphs.

As the antagonistic force is represented by Juno, so Jupiter, in part at least, is identified with Fate itself. Prescott⁶ says that Fate and the will of Jove are identical. Sellar⁷ calls attention to passages in which "Jupiter is represented rather as cognizant of the Fates than as their author." The apparent discrepancy is removed by regarding Jupiter, like Juno, as a symbolic personification, the former of the power of Destiny as the latter of the opposing power. Third in importance in this plot is Venus, who, out of a partisan interest in the particular destiny of Rome, is engaged continually in assisting the hero and foiling Juno's efforts to thwart the will of Jupiter. Like Venus, a large number of divine characters appear, dealing directly with human beings, to further

⁵ This view, which is in a way analogous to Persian dualism, or to the early Christian conception of God and the Devil, holds the important difference that Vergil appears to ascribe neither to Fate nor to the opposing force any moral qualities. As Sellar (*op. cit.*, p. 340) says, the action of Fate "is purely political, neither ethical, though its ultimate tendency is beneficent, nor personal."

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 250: "In Virgil . . . it is Fate or the will of Jove—the two are identical—which directs the action."

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 337. Book x, 112f is the most significant.

or oppose the ends of Destiny. Distinct from the rest is Apollo, who repeatedly appears, not to intervene in the action but to reveal to men the will of Fate. That he, working through various agencies, is himself subordinate to the supreme power, is explicitly stated in one of these revelations (III, 250-52):

*Accipite ergo animis atque haec mea figite dicta,
quae Phoebus pater omnipotens, mihi Phoebus Apollo
praedixit, vobis Furiarum ego maxima pando.*

In the second book it is a priest of Apollo who makes to Aeneas, just awakened from his dream of Hector, the tragic pronouncement beginning:

*Venit summa dies et ineluctabile tempus
Dardaniae* [II, 324f].

In the wanderings of the third book Apollo is recognized as the author of warnings and predictions received successively from the oracle at Delos (III, 73-121), the Penates in a dream (III, 147-91; especially 154f), the Harpies (III, 250-57), and Helenus (III, 359, 371, 434, 474, etc.); in the fourth book he is mentioned by Aeneas as the source of his instructions to go to Italy (IV, 345, echoed by Dido in vs. 376); in the sixth book especially and repeatedly he is presented as the source of the Sibyl's prophetic power (VI, 9f, 35, 77, *et passim*). In the later books, after Italy has been reached, his function as the symbolic Revealer of Destiny ceases to be significant, and he appears only in the second type of symbolism, connected with individual mortals; see p. 120, below.

Of the other deities appearing as subordinate characters in the superplot, a few are quite obviously abstractions symbolizing human action. The best example is Fama, who appears not only in the famous descriptive passage beginning^a:

*Extemplo Libyae magnas it Fama per urbes,
Fama, malum qua non aliud velocius ullum,*

^a IV, 173-97. Fama appears also in IV, 298 and 666; VII, 104; IX, 473, and XI, 139.

but also in numerous other scenes in which a poetic coloring is thus lent to mere sordid human gossip. A similar personification is that of Somnus in the fifth book (vss. 838-61), where Palinurus, after resisting the god's insidious suggestion that it is safe to rest, is at last tricked into slumber. One can hardly imagine here that Vergil intended to invoke an objective supernatural agency; he merely personifies Sleep as a vivid means of showing the pilot's unsuccessful attempt to resist his own weariness.

Other supernatural figures scarcely less abstract than these, together with some whose symbolic nature is less evident, appear as the instruments either of Jupiter and Venus in furthering the ends of Fate, or of Juno in opposing them. Of these, some are an allegorical representation of natural forces, as Aeolus, king of the winds (I, 50-86, 137-41), by whose agency Juno, in the first book, stirs up the storm, and Neptune (I, 124-56; V, 779-826; and VII, 21-24), by whose authority the storm is calmed and who, at the request of Venus, insures safe conduct through his domain to Aeneas after he leaves Carthage.

Others seem to be symbols of psychological forces. In this group I place Mercury, whose appearance, as *interpres divum*, *Iove missus ab ipso* (IV, 356, referring to IV, 222-78), to Aeneas in Carthage is one of the incidents most resented by some readers of the *Aeneid* on the ground that it deprives the hero of all freedom of will. On the contrary, Mercury represents the voice of Destiny — one might call it conscience — working in Aeneas' own mind. As Prescott says (*op. cit.*, p. 282): "Mercury accomplishes here what in modern literature Aeneas himself would accomplish by a calm consideration of his moral obligation." But as in modern literature some objective episode — the taunt of a Tyrian, the complaint of a follower, or perhaps the naive comment of Ascanius — by calling Aeneas' attention to the fact that he was building Dido's city instead of his own, would serve to crystalize his "calm consideration" into action, so Vergil, after careful preparation, introduces an objective messenger from Jove to remind Aeneas of his neglected duty toward the fulfillment of his destiny and that of his race. That Aeneas is not deprived of free

will, in his own estimation at any rate, is shown by his deliberation in the verses immediately following Mercury's disappearance (iv, 279-86), in which he is represented as eager to go but uncertain how to accomplish his departure. That Aeneas' conscience had been troubling him even before Mercury's message, which merely served to hasten his decision, the poet informs us explicitly when he makes Aeneas tell Dido (iv, 351-55) that his sleep had been disturbed every night by dreams of warnings from his father and thoughts of the wrong he was doing to his son. Mercury, then, symbolically representing Aeneas' conscience, is one of the numerous supernatural instruments used by Fate in dealing with human beings.

A less known but even more striking figure is the Fury employed by Juno, the opponent of Fate. In the seventh book, when all is propitious for Aeneas, and the envoys of King Latinus are actually on the way to offer Lavinia in marriage to the Trojan leader, Juno resolves to try the last resource against Fate; though she knows the outcome is fixed, yet she will delay it and let it be realized only at the cost of much bloodshed. To this end, she says (vii, 312):

Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo.

Accordingly she summons from Hades the dread Fury, Allecto, who proceeds (vii, 323-560) by three means to insure hostility between the Latins and the Trojans: "She inspires the queen, Amata, mother of Lavinia . . . and already predisposed in favor of Turnus' suit, with a mad resentment and aversion to the union with the Trojans; Allecto then approaches Turnus and fills him with a furious eagerness to resist Latinus' purpose, even to the extent of fighting with the Trojans; finally, Allecto uses the accidental killing, by Ascanius, of a pet animal belonging to one of the rustic families to inspire in the country folk hostility toward the Trojans."⁹ Again it is noteworthy that the divine being does not in any case change the earlier predispositions of

⁹ Cf. Prescott, *op. cit.*, pp. 429f.

the human characters; she only stimulates to action the psychological processes already at work. She is a personification of "war psychology" as it spreads among the women, among the noble warriors, and among the common fighting men.

Among other subordinate deities, we may notice, as instruments on the side of Fate, Cupid (used by Venus in her efforts against Juno; I, 657-722), whose symbolic interpretation is obvious and whose objective necessity in the action is nil, since Dido could quite as easily have fallen in love with Aeneas while holding on her lap the real Ascanius; also, in the later books, Faunus (VII, 81-106) and Tiber (VIII, 36-101), who, prophesying to Latinus and Aeneas respectively, represent the destiny of Italy as bound up with and ready for the coming of the Trojans. In the employ of Juno against Fate, we find, in addition to Aeolus and Allecto, Iris (IV, 693-705; V, 606-53; and IX, 1 and 805), of whose several appearances the most important is designed to inspire the Trojan women to burn their own ships (an act to which they are already predisposed by their weariness of the sea), and who seems accordingly to be a psychological symbol similar to Allecto; also Juturna (XII, 134 *et passim*), the divine sister of Turnus, who, as the special protector of that hero, belongs primarily to the second classification of deities, yet to be considered.

In all these instances, Vergil's selection of a particular mythological figure to serve or oppose the purposes of Destiny must have been largely determined for him by tradition — occasionally by Italian legend, more often by Greek literary models, as Cupid from Apollonius, Mercury and most of the rest from Homer. In some cases, the mythological figure seems to be introduced merely for ornament; the symbolic force, e.g., of Vulcan (VIII, 370-453), who, at the request of Venus, makes for Aeneas new armor, patterned after that of Achilles in the *Iliad*, is, if present at all, attenuated out of ready recognition. But from the purely mythological figure of Vulcan at one extreme to the symbolic abstraction of Fama at the other, all these divinities, together with their superiors, Jupiter and Juno, are actors in the great supernatural drama interwoven with and parallel to Aeneas' struggle to fulfill his

destiny; all alike are employed by the poet to emphasize the interrelation of destiny and human character, and are introduced into the narrative not at random but at significant points chosen to illustrate the nearness, at all crises of human action, of the Deity.

The second symbolic function of the gods, though more difficult to interpret to modern thought, is, I believe, scarcely less important for the comprehension of the *Aeneid* than the realization of their rôle in the strife for and against Fate. It probably arose in Vergil's mind as a development of the native Italian concept of the Genius of a man, the Juno of a woman, as a sort of spiritual counterpart or double. The divine being was in part protector and "guardian angel," while at the same time he was identified with the human being who worshiped him. The prominence in Vergil's time of this survival of old Italic religion is shown by the worship in the city of Rome of the Genius of Augustus. The leading characters in the *Aeneid*, as well as some of the minor ones, are provided each with such a divine counterpart. Instead of the abstract and colorless figure of the Italian Genius, however, Vergil has utilized for this purpose one or another of the Olympic deities, selected, upon mythological considerations, for suitability of character or traditional connection with a given mortal, or both. The choice, e.g., of Apollo as guardian of Iulus (ix, 638-71), to remove him from danger after his first engagement in battle, was determined by the fact that Augustus claimed Apollo as the special patron of himself and of the Julian line, whose ancestor was Iulus. Postponing, for the moment, the outstanding examples in the epic of this symbolic tutelage, let us examine the case of one of Vergil's best and most sympathetically drawn minor characters — the warrior-maid, Camilla (xi, 498-521, 532-96, and 648-867).

Camilla is introduced to us at the head of her Volscian cavalry in the midst of the general engagement which forms the chief part of the eleventh book. She is given the center of the stage after Turnus, planning an ambush, assents to her suggestion that he withdraw and allow her forces to meet the Trojan horse. Thereupon the poet shifts the scene to give us a conversation

between Diana and Opis, one of her attendants, in which the latter is instructed not to protect Camilla (which would be contrary to Fate) but to avenge her coming death. Diana takes this opportunity to recount the early history of Camilla; her own care for the girl had dated from the occasion when, as a baby, she had been tied to a spear-shaft, consigned to the protection of Diana, and hurled across a swollen river by her father, who, escaping from his enemies, dared not risk his child's life by holding her as he swam the stream. The narrative of the battle, now resumed, extols the exploits of the warrior maiden; finally her tragic, but heroic, death is avenged by Opis' swift retaliation on the foe whose spear had struck her. Here we have a comparatively simple case of divine and human "doubles": Diana is the patroness, Camilla the worshiper; in character the two are practically identical; Camilla, like her goddess, is a huntress, a virgin, proud, fearless, active, and withal feminine. Diana, though she had saved her life in infancy, is powerless to save her from death in battle; yet she exerts what effort she can in her behalf. The individual deity, in this case and others, appears to symbolize the motives and interests of the corresponding human being. The deity herself, though possessing some supernatural power and in particular a supernatural knowledge of Fate, is finite, the limitations being imposed not only by Fate but also by the activities of other deities.

The two most important examples of this divine-human relationship are, of course, that of Aeneas with Venus and that of Dido with Juno. Venus, as the patroness of the hero, has of right a position, as already indicated, in the supernatural plot. Juno has, so to speak, a double rôle: in one capacity she symbolizes the force opposing Destiny; in the other she is the divine counterpart of Dido. It has been noted that in dealing with other human characters, as she does frequently in the last six books, she works through intermediate deities, especially Allecto and Juturna, who is probably to be taken as the divine double of Turnus.

Juno as the symbolic personification of Dido's purposes has again two aspects, political and personal. The first purpose is the founding and aggrandizement of Carthage. The intimate con-

nection of this theme with opposition to the destiny of Aeneas and Rome is brought out repeatedly and emphatically from the beginning of the first book (vss. 12-22) :

*Urbs antiqua fuit — Tyrii tenuere coloni —
Karthago,*

to the point (iv, 608 and 625) where she is invoked as witness to Dido's dying prayer for the coming of an avenger, which to the Roman involved in its associations the whole history of the Punic Wars. In this ambition for Carthage, her attitude and Dido's are identical, except for her wider view and fuller knowledge of Fate. The second purpose which belongs alike to Dido and Juno is to effect a permanent union between the Queen and Aeneas. In this aspect one sees Juno's early and important Roman function as presiding deity of marriage. Here in particular I believe that the apprehension of Juno as a personification of Dido's own inner consciousness will relieve much confusion in the interpretation of the fourth book. Immediately after Anna has persuaded Dido to lay aside her rigid refusal to contemplate any husband but the dead Sychaeus, while the queen's love, though unknown to Aeneas, is self-confessed, Vergil gives us the scene in which Juno tries to trick into consent to a marriage the wary Venus. In my opinion, this scene not only shows us the formulation of Dido's purpose to marry Aeneas but also affords the exact counterpart of the relations between Aeneas and Dido; she, like Juno, regards as a marriage what Aeneas and Venus, with a knowledge of his destiny, cannot so regard. As to the scene in the cave (iv, 165-72), the supernatural trappings merely express in poetic symbolism the rather common situation in which the two parties to a love-affair regard their relations from two entirely different and incompatible points of view. Dido "called it a marriage" because she wanted to believe that it would be permanent, while Aeneas, as he later told her (iv, 338f), had no such intention.

In this same connection it is perhaps significant that, while Juno, patroness of Dido, is goddess of marriage, Venus, who

bears an analogous relation to Aeneas, is goddess of love — not of marriage. The much-argued question whether Aeneas was in love with Dido may perhaps receive some light from this symbolic interpretation of the deities concerned. As to Prescott's argument¹⁰ that Aeneas did love Dido because "the preparatory scenes of the first book were evidently constructed with a view to stirring in Aeneas, quite as much as in Dido, an inevitable love," while one must, of course, always allow for a difference in the definition of terms when discussing the subject of love, I cannot believe that Aeneas loved Dido, at any rate in the sense in which Dido understood the term. My view is based chiefly upon the great difference in the preparatory scenes affecting Aeneas and those affecting Dido, and especially upon the fact that while Cupid, that Alexandrian figure of romantic love, is the symbolic instrument of Aeneas' effect upon Dido, in the case of Aeneas the sole agent is Venus, whose particular qualifications as goddess of love are such as to be quite consistent with Aeneas' view of the whole affair as rather episodic. In other words, I think that, just as Juno represents Dido's purpose to marry Aeneas, so Venus, at this point, represents Aeneas' purpose, or rather willingness, to indulge in a perfectly sincere but temporary amorous interlude. Vergil does not condone this conduct, much less defend it; he makes it quite clear that both Dido and Aeneas have done wrong. It is likewise clear, as various writers have pointed out, that in this matter the conduct of neither goddess is free from reproach — a natural conclusion if we believe them to be counterparts of the human characters.

A more pleasing aspect of Venus is her representation of the political purpose of Aeneas, which is the main theme of the epic. As the guardian spirit of Aeneas, as the ancestress of all his descendants and especial patroness of the Julian line, Venus guides and protects him from the time when she appears to him on the last night of Troy (II, 528-621), through all his wanderings to and including his final duel with Turnus (XII, 786f). In

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 282f, beginning: "Nor must the modern reader attempt to explain the situation by assuring himself that Aeneas did not love Dido."

these activities she is not omnipotent; she is powerless to prevent his troubles and difficulties. But she has a clearer view than he of Fate, of which she advises him from time to time. She thus symbolizes his own more enlightened self. Throughout the action of the poem all her supernatural intervention may be explained either as the result of his own thinking, as when she reveals to him the divine powers at work in the overthrow of Troy and sends him home to save his own family, or as the timely, even providential, assistance of a natural external force, as when she helps the physician to heal his wound (xii, 411-24). Such intervention signifies the importance of the action involved and helps to keep close together the divine and human themes.

It follows from this interpretation of the deities, which might be extended into much greater detail, that the human plot could be completely detached from supernatural agencies, modernized, and rationalized, without any essential change in the structure of the narrative. For example, in the first book, Aeneas and his followers, setting out from Sicily to Italy, are caught by a sudden, perhaps equinoctial, storm, which causes them to land, in two detachments, on the coast of Africa, near the newly founded city of Carthage. The next morning Aeneas, exploring, is met by a huntress from the city, who tells him the story of Dido, thus stimulating his interest in the Queen, and who also points out to him a bypath which will take him, unseen and unmolested, to the royal audience-chamber. There, in concealment, he sees Dido receive graciously representatives from his supposedly lost ships, and, when he steps out of hiding to thank her, is himself hospitably welcomed. At the banquet held that night in his honor, his young son Iulus, coming with lavish gifts from the ship, completes, by his responsiveness to the ardent queen's affectionate advances, the scarcely difficult task of arousing in her a violent love for Aeneas.

In this book as in the others the actions of the characters are carefully motivated by Vergil without reference to the divine machinery. That they are intended to be morally responsible for their acts is shown by the repeated cases in which they deliberate

beforehand or censure their own conduct afterwards. A clear illustration is the case of Dido in the fourth book; her conversation with Anna at the beginning and her soliloquy just before her death are alike designed to show that she acted in spite of her own better judgment; she might have said, with Medea, *Video meliora proboque; deteriora sequor*. So far as I can see, no significant action or event in the entire narrative requires the supernatural mechanism for either physical or psychological plausibility. In this generalization I am, of course, regarding portents, visions, and other revelations of Destiny as in themselves symbolic. I also exclude the visit to Hades, which is a revelation of Destiny on a grand scale and which, important as it is to the philosophical thought of the poem, is an interruption to the narrative proper.

One may naturally inquire why, if the human plot may be completely detached from the supernatural, Vergil chose to interweave the two in so elaborate and intricate a design. Of the many ways in which the gods add value to the epic, a few of the most evident may be mentioned. They are used for the adornment of the work; the epic tradition, the mythological background of previous literature, demanded their presence; further, the style of the work is infinitely enriched, to cite one feature out of many, by the contrasting, continually shifting scenes, first between human characters, then between deities, and again between a man and a god. They are used for emphasis; all significant human actions are related to a higher purpose by their ascription to divine intervention. They are used to bring out the religious purpose of the work; difficult as it may be to say with assurance exactly what was Vergil's theology, the high religious tone of his view of Destiny is unmistakable; and so abstract a conception is undoubtedly more easily apprehended by the modern reader, especially the young student, by means of the workings of intermediate deities, more closely related to humanity. In presenting to a class this view of the symbolic nature of the gods, one should be careful not to obscure the fact that from the artistic standpoint they are essential and very real. Yet in reference to the questions that

arise concerning the ethics, the purposes, the personalities of the human characters, my experience with students leads me to believe that a more intelligent interpretation of the narrative and a better appreciation of Vergil's purposes may be attained if the reader of the *Aeneid* apprehends the deities as, on the one hand, symbolic actors in the struggle for and against Fate, and, on the other, as personifications of the motives governing the human characters.

READING LATIN AS LATIN — SOME DIFFICULTIES AND SOME DEVICES¹

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Two years ago this month the writer of this paper published an article² under the caption "Shall We Teach our Pupils to Read Latin?" It will be noted that the title was cast in the form of a question — perhaps in the form of a deliberative question of volitive origin! At any rate the question was not meant to be purely rhetorical. Nor is the question merely academic; for the answer which a teacher of Latin makes to that question, even if it is only a tentative answer, will determine quite fundamentally his classroom procedure at every level of his teaching. And this will be true for the very simple reason that most of the knowledges, habits, and skills necessary to develop the ability to read Latin as Latin and in the Latin order are radically different from those knowledges, habits, and skills necessary to develop the contrasted ability, viz. the ability to decode (or to decipher or to "translate") Latin as English and in the English order. It follows, therefore, that the types of pupil-activity which are set up in the classroom and in outside study for the purpose of developing one set of knowledges, habits, and skills will differ quite radically from those set up for the development of the other set of knowledges, habits, and skills.

Now it is undoubtedly true that no one at the present time can give a final answer to the question stated above. At any rate, there is not at present available on that question objective evidence which is at all comparable to that discussed at length in the

¹ Read at the twenty-sixth annual meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South in New Orleans, April 3, 1930.

² Cf. the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* XXIII (1928), 500-10.

general *Report* (Volume I) of the Classical Investigation in regard to the validity of certain ultimate educational objectives in the study of Latin and of those methods which are the "best by test" for the attainment of those objectives. As a writer in the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL*³ points out, the recommendation in the *Report* to the effect that "the primary immediate objective in the study of Latin is the ability to read Latin as Latin" was based on opinion and not on the results of tests. It is true, however, that this recommendation was based on what seemed to be the *majority* opinion of teachers⁴ and was, furthermore, in accordance with previous official recommendations on the subject.⁵

Then, too, one may hazard a guess that the Committee which drew up the *Report* assumed that the primary immediate objective in the teaching of Latin was "ability to read Latin as Latin," because no other assumption was tenable. In the opinion of the writer of this paper, at any rate, it would have been quite impossible for that Committee, or for any other representative group of Latin teachers, to set up as the primary immediate objective in the teaching of Latin any of the following abilities or knowledges which, at least by implication, have been proposed by various critics of this feature of the *Report*:

1. Ability, actually or mentally, to transpose the words of a Latin sentence into English order and then to transverbalize the Latin words thus transposed into more or less equivalent English words or phrases so as to "make sense."

2. Ability to transverbalize the words of a Latin sentence into more or less equivalent English words or phrases and then to transpose and rearrange these English words and phrases thus transverbalized so as to "make sense."

3. Ability to repeat memoriter paradigms of Latin nouns, adjectives, and verbs, to quote rules of Latin grammar, and to

³ A. T. Walker, "The Report of the Classical Investigation — a Criticism," *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* xxv (1929), 83-92.

⁴ Cf. the *Report*, pp. 193f.

⁵ Cf., e.g., the *Report of the Committee of Ten* (1893), or the announcement of the College Entrance Examination Board (1924) as quoted in the *Report* of the Classical Investigation, pp. 288-91.

give more or less near English equivalents of a selected list of Latin words.

4. "An accurate knowledge of the facts of Latin, plus whatever reading ability Heaven may have vouchsafed to the pupil's brain" (Walker, *op. cit.* 82-93).

And in the opinion of the present writer, a teacher who should adopt any one of these four abilities as a primary immediate objective and should organize classroom procedure consistent with his chosen objective would not only fail to give his pupils any practice in reading Latin (in any real sense of that term) but would be guilty of giving his pupils practice in methods which would positively inhibit the correct reading process.⁶

But that again is mere opinion. What we need, of course, if we are to try to find the final answer to the question, "Shall we (or should we) teach our pupils to read Latin as Latin and in the Latin order?" is an accumulation of objective evidence. We need, e.g., more such evidence as that presented by Buswell's laboratory study of eye-movements.⁷

Furthermore, even if we are convinced of the truth of Buswell's conclusions that "the direct method produces desirable reading habits; the translation method does not" and that "this seems to be equally true regardless of the type of language — as applicable to Latin as to French," we should still be guilty of begging the question; for what we really want to know is whether or not those knowledges, abilities, skills, habits, attitudes, and ideals commonly regarded as the most important ultimate objectives of the study of Latin are best attained by the average pupil through learning to "read" Latin directly (i.e. as Latin and in the Latin order) or indirectly by transposition and transverbalization (i.e. as English and in the English order).

But in order to carry on controlled experiments to find scientifically the answer to the question just stated, we shall need first of all by minor experiments to evaluate classroom methods suit-

⁶ For a good statement of this point of view, cf. Hugh P. O'Neill, *Reading Latin*: Loyola University Press (1929), 6.

⁷ Cf. G. T. Buswell, *A Laboratory Study of the Reading of Foreign Languages*: New York, Macmillan Company, (1927), 71-95.

able for attaining those subsidiary and ancillary abilities, knowledges, and skills which would seem to be necessary to the attainment of the ability to read Latin directly. The Committee charged with conducting the Classical Investigation failed to find significant data in this field, because at the time of the investigation no school system could be found which was able to provide facilities for setting up a controlled experiment or for securing test results that would yield convincing evidence on this point. In the Cleveland schools, e.g., where a modified "direct" method has long been in use in certain Latin classes, half-year promotions of pupils played such havoc with the groups being studied that the data secured were inconclusive.

But times have changed; and the relaxation of quantity requirements by the College Entrance Examination Board and other standardizing agencies and the publication of new teaching materials, including textbooks, now makes it possible for teachers or school systems to conduct experiments and to prove for themselves the educational values of one system of teaching as against the other.

As a first step in any such experiment it would seem desirable to state clearly in terms of knowledges, abilities, skills, habits, and attitudes those subsidiary immediate objectives which would seem to be necessary to the development of each of these general abilities. We teachers of Latin are, I fear, too much inclined to say that a pupil must "know" his vocabulary, forms, and syntax, without stopping to think just what we mean by such a statement, or to realize that the method by which the pupil is to acquire a knowledge of these elements should be consistent with the use he is to make of them.

I should like to present to you today the results of one effort so to state certain of these subsidiary immediate objectives, then to analyze some of the learning difficulties which seem to stand in the way of attaining these objectives, and finally to propose some classroom procedures which I believe teachers would find helpful in overcoming these difficulties. I begin by listing some important

immediate objectives which, it seems to me, are necessary to the attainment of ability to read Latin as Latin:

1. Ability to pronounce accurately and automatically at sight a capital stock of Latin words, phrases, and sentences.

2. Ability to pronounce accurately at sight unfamiliar Latin words as they appear in later reading.

3. A working knowledge of the Latin sounds represented by the letters of the Roman alphabet and a working knowledge of the rules for placing the accent of a Latin word.

4. Ability to read a Latin sentence or paragraph fluently and with proper word phrasing and voice inflection.

5. Ability automatically and without transverbalization to get the correct meaning from a fairly large capital stock of Latin words when these are seen in sentence context.

6. Skill in getting the correct meaning from unfamiliar Latin words when seen in sentence context.

7. Ability to recognize accurately and promptly commonly used grammatical forms and to select the appropriate grammatical function of a given form in its particular sentence context.

8. Habit of, and skill in, grouping together on the basis of form and function those Latin words which make up major or minor thought units.

9. A working knowledge of the general principles of Latin word order.

10. A language attitude toward Latin and a reading attitude toward the printed Latin page.

It will be noted that the first four of the ten immediate objectives listed above have to do with the *saying* of Latin. At first thought it might appear that too great emphasis is thus given to mere vocal utterance. However, it seems apparent to the writer, at least, that a teacher who is committed whole-heartedly to the experiment of trying to teach his pupils to read Latin as Latin must give an important place to these first four objectives, inasmuch as a necessary first step in *reading* a language consists in *saying what one sees* — in converting written or printed word symbols into spoken words. *Saying* Latin is not all there is to

reading Latin, but no normal person can learn to *read* a language without *saying* the words of that language, either audibly or to himself. And it is right at this point that we encounter our first serious learning difficulty. Many teachers hesitate to try to teach their pupils to read Latin as Latin, because they realize that it is difficult, if not impossible, for many boys and girls to acquire the ability to pronounce Latin with any degree of accuracy, to say nothing of learning to read it "fluently with proper phrasing and voice inflection" (to quote from Objective 4). Many other teachers who start out bravely on such a venture soon give up the struggle or allow the oral reading of Latin to degenerate into a purely perfunctory performance, which amounts to about the same thing as no reading at all.

Such teachers should remind themselves that speech is fundamentally a habit or skill, and not merely a knowledge; that it is therefore not enough to call a pupil's attention once or often to the new and strange Latin sounds of certain long-familiar letters of the Roman-English alphabet; that a speech habit or skill (like any other habit or skill) can be acquired only through long-continued and properly motivated practice; that the new speech reactions must be built up alongside of the old; that this can be done most effectively in a natural setting where language is used to convey and to express thought; and that a great deal of oral reading should precede any attempts at silent reading.

Let me illustrate what I mean by the above statements. The printed letter combination *s-u-m*, for example, to which the pupil has for years given the speech response "sŭm," will yield a habitual oral response "sŏm" only after the pupil has repeatedly uttered the word — preferably in a sensible Latin sentence and in a conscious and conscientious effort to do as the Romans did. Likewise, the letter combination *s-a-l-v-e* must become *salvĕ* as a Roman greeting, while remaining "sälve" as an English medication. Similarly *m-a-l-e* will remain English "male" unless completely surrounded by an evil Roman atmosphere.

I recently asked a large group of experienced Latin teachers to suggest classroom activities which they believed would really give

beginning Latin pupils effective practice in *saying* Latin. I pass on to you some of the activities which were suggested and which it seems to me apply especially to Objective 1 in the list given above:

1. The pupils as a group or as individuals pronounce after the teacher each new Latin word in the lesson vocabulary or reading assignment.

2. The pupils as a group or as individuals read after the teacher each sentence in the reading assignment.

3. The pupils are careful to pronounce separately all double consonants and to give approximately double time to all long vowels.

4. The pupils in early stages of the work copy Latin words and sentences, indicating the quantity of all long vowels.

5. The pupils write Latin words or sentences from dictation and then read them aloud.

6. The pupils indicate vowel quantities in all written Latin, at least during the first year.

7. The pupils read and act out Latin dialogues and plays.

8. The pupils reply in Latin to questions which the teacher asks in Latin about objects in the room.

9. The pupils memorize Latin mottoes, proverbs, poems, and songs.

Note, by the way, that all of the above mentioned activities are stated in terms of what the pupil does, for obviously a pupil learns only through his own activities. It is what the pupil does, not what the teacher does or says, that makes changes in the pupil — that modifies his nervous system and speeds up his synapses.

A similar list of activities was prepared to help the pupils to attain Objective 2, which merely represents a further development of the ability described as Objective 1. Here are some of them:

1. The pupils develop a working knowledge of the Latin sounds represented by the letters of the Roman alphabet by abstracting these sounds from Latin words already properly pronounced by imitation.

2. The pupils habitually prolong the long vowels and give full time to each separately pronounced consonant and so practically force themselves to place the primary word accent on a "long" penult.

3. The pupils develop under the teacher's guidance a working knowledge of the rules for syllabification and for placing the accent of a Latin word through an application of the principles involved, as illustrated in Latin words already properly accented by imitation.

4. The pupils help themselves to prolong the long vowels in their oral work by habitually marking them in their written work, at least during the first year.

5. The pupils formulate under the teacher's guidance the most important rules concerning the quantity of vowels in Latin (e.g. a vowel is short before another vowel).

6. The pupils are led to realize that the meaning or tense of a word is often indicated by the quantity and accent, as in such pairs of words as *occidō* and *occīdō*, *advenit* and *advēnit*.

7. The pupils write Latin words or sentences from dictation and are held responsible for marking all long vowels as an essential part of the spelling.

Objective 3 is obviously valuable only as it contributes to Objective 2, and its attainment has been sufficiently provided for in the list of activities just given. Also Objective 4 is only a more complex ability to which those abilities stated as Objectives 1, 2, and 3 (and also 8) contribute.

In Objectives 5 and 6 we encounter the second great learning difficulty. Many teachers are discouraged by the difficulties involved in getting their pupils to attach meaning to Latin words or to get meaning from Latin words without the persistent intervention of near-equivalents in the vernacular. Such teachers need to realize more fully the value of the oral-objective approach to the study of Latin and the necessity of developing in their pupils from the first the habit of, and skill in, "sensible guessing" at the meaning of a new word as it appears in oral or written sentence context. Such discouraged teachers should realize also that the

types of formal drill all too commonly employed in teaching Latin vocabulary only strengthen the natural tendency of English-speaking pupils to read Latin as English. The directions sometimes given to the pupil to "learn" the lesson vocabulary in advance of hearing or seeing the new Latin words in sensible sentence context can of course mean only one thing, viz. that the pupil is to "learn" to associate each new Latin word in the vocabulary with a more or less near-equivalent in English. And the result of this "learning" is that, whenever thereafter the pupil sees the Latin word in his reading, he is almost sure to give the practised indirect response in English instead of a direct response in Latin. And an habitual and automatic direct response, I repeat, is necessary if one is ever to learn to read Latin as Latin. Some classroom activities which have been found helpful in attaining Objective 5 are the following:

1. The pupils in the first few class periods learn the meaning of a small stock of Latin words by oral-objectivé presentation and are given much practice in hearing, saying, seeing, and writing these words in sentence context.
2. The pupils in their early work read much well-graded Latin which introduces only a few new words at a time and in illuminating sentence context.
3. The pupils are encouraged to associate as many Latin words as possible with known Latin or English words with which they are connected by derivation.
4. The pupils give orally or write Latin answers to Latin questions so framed as to require the pupil to use the words on which special drill is desired.
5. The pupils do completion exercises which require the insertion of the Latin words on which they are being drilled.
6. The pupils commit to memory little Latin stories or parts in Latin dialogues which contain the words on which they are being drilled.
7. The pupils write English-Latin exercises which require the use of the words on which they are being drilled.
8. The pupils are encouraged whenever possible to establish a

direct association of the Latin word with the appropriate object, act, or quality rather than to depend for meaning chiefly upon an English near-equivalent.

9. In reviews and drills the pupils are encouraged to show by objective methods that they know the meaning of a Latin word or phrase so as to use it in an appropriate Latin sentence rather than to give its English near-equivalent.

In more advanced reading the problem of training the pupils to get meaning directly from new Latin words is still more difficult. The building up of good vocabulary habits in the earlier stages of Latin reading and the selection of reading material so graded in vocabulary difficulty that the pupil has a real chance to "guess sensibly" the meanings of new words are prime necessities here. If these two requirements are met, the following classroom activities will be found very helpful in attaining Objective 6:

1. The pupils are given practice in class in comprehending at sight and are encouraged to try to discover the meaning of each unfamiliar word from its context or from its similarity to a known Latin or English word.

2. The pupils silently read and reread in class a short passage of new Latin, each pupil checking with a pencil any word the meaning of which he cannot solve for himself; a pupil then asks for help on a given word, and the teacher calls on some pupil who has solved the meaning to explain how he did it.

3. The pupil is encouraged in his outside study to use these same methods for discovering the meaning of an unfamiliar word.

4. The pupils are given much practice in discovering identical elements in pairs of related words through the use of English-Latin, Latin-English, and Latin-Latin word studies.

5. The pupil is given much practice in analyzing Latin words formed with prefixes which suffer assimilation in compounds (e.g. *ad-* and *in-*) and in analyzing Latin words containing the more important formative suffixes (e.g. *vict-or*, *vict-or-ia*).

6. The pupil by a system of graphic devices breaks up sentences or clauses into smaller thought groups and thus limits the immediate context for any unfamiliar word.⁸

⁸ For helpful practical suggestions on this point see Mignonette Spilman's

7. The pupil is encouraged to read a new Latin sentence aloud to secure auditory as well as visual association between an unfamiliar word in the sentence and some known related Latin or English word.

Objectives 7, 8, and 9 involve the greatest of all difficulties in learning to read Latin as Latin and in the Latin order — difficulties inherent in the very genius of Latin as a highly inflected language. In English, as we all know, word order is all important in determining the function of a word in a sentence, while inflectional endings are all but nonexistent. In Latin the inflectional endings are all-important in determining the function and relationship of words, while word order plays a quite subordinate rôle. It is not surprising therefore that many teachers who would be willing to pay the cost in time and energy sufficient to give their pupils adequate practice in saying Latin and who are convinced that word-meanings should and can be acquired functionally, nevertheless believe that it is all but impossible to teach their pupils to read Latin in the Latin order, and hence they allow or even encourage their pupils actually or mentally to transpose each Latin sentence into the familiar English order before attempting to comprehend its meaning. The advice which these teachers sometimes give, "first find the subject, etc." represents, of course, complete surrender to the analytic method. If we teachers cannot discover and use, even in the early stages,⁹ effective teaching devices to overcome this the greatest reading difficulty, we cannot expect to train our pupils to read even "easy" Latin in the Latin order, to say nothing of training them so to read classical Latin of the periodic-sentence type.

Obviously Objectives 7, 8, and 9 are closely related to one another, and furthermore the ability stated as Objective 4 is only the outward and audible expression of the inward habit and skill

article on "Learning to Read Latin in the Latin Order," *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* xxiv (1929), 323-37, and also the graphic devices suggested under Activity 7 on pp. 138, below.

⁹ As O'Neill cleverly remarks: "Experience proves that the pupil who has been taught to prow around a sentence looking for the subject and verb is with difficulty cured of his nomadic habits later on" (*op. cit.* 11).

stated as Objective 8. Any classroom activity, therefore, which is helpful in attaining Objectives 7, 8, or 9 would also be useful in the attainment of the others in this group. For convenience, however, the activities are listed under that particular objective to which they would seem to contribute most directly. Some classroom activities especially useful for the attainment of Objective 7 are:

1. The pupils are taught to associate form and function through first meeting new grammatical forms and syntactical uses in sensible Latin sentences, either oral or written.

2. Pupils do oral and written completion exercises which require a knowledge of the form demanded by the context.

3. The pupils gradually build up paradigms and formulate rules from the forms and uses which they have met in their Latin reading.

4. The pupils copy the reading assignment and indicate by certain graphic devices the function of certain especially significant words or word groups in the sentence (e.g. they underscore all direct objects and place a wave line under all nouns or pronouns in the dative case).

5. The pupils copy assigned English sentences and indicate by similar graphic devices the function of certain especially significant words or word groups and then turn these sentences into Latin.

6. The teacher writes a certain Latin noun, adjective, or verb form on the board, and a pupil gives orally or writes around it a sensible Latin sentence in which this form is correctly used.

7. The pupils are encouraged to read through a complex or compound Latin sentence, breaking it up by means of certain graphic devices into major and minor thought groups, and then to determine the form and function of each word in relation to the other words in its own group.

8. The pupils give orally or write Latin answers to Latin questions which require the use of forms on which special drill is being given.

9. The pupils are trained through sight reading to anticipate

the form and use which are likely to follow a given "signal" word (e.g. *impero*, which is likely to be followed by a subjunctive clause introduced by an *ut* or *ne*).

Here again the cultivation of good reading habits is often made unnecessarily difficult by wrong practices in the early stages of Latin study. The learning by rote of forms apart from their functions or the habitual association of Latin forms with their near-equivalents in English sets up and strengthens stimulus-response bonds which quite effectually interfere with any later efforts to read Latin as Latin and in the Latin order.

Some classroom activities especially directed to the attainment of Objective 8 are:

1. The pupils copy the reading assignment and indicate by certain graphic devices the major and minor word groups (e.g. end-on clauses, parenthetical clauses, ablative absolute phrases, participial phrases, etc.) as a first step in comprehending the passages.
2. The pupils copy assigned English sentences and indicate by similar graphic devices the major and minor thought groups, and then turn these sentences into Latin.
3. The pupils read a passage aloud and indicate by pauses and by voice inflection the various types of thought units.
4. The teacher writes a Latin passage on the board, beginning each major or minor thought unit on a new line, and has the pupils interpret each thought group as it appears.
5. The pupils are trained through sight reading to anticipate the kind of major or minor thought unit likely to follow a given "signal" word (e.g. *timeo*, which is likely to be followed by a subjunctive clause introduced by *ne*).
6. The pupils give Latin answers to Latin questions so phrased as to call for a given type of phrase or clause (e.g. *Quid Caesar jussit? Quid Caesar imperavit? Quid Caesar timuit?*).

For the attainment of Objective 9 the following activities are suggested:

1. The pupils give orally or write Latin answers to Latin questions following as closely as possible the word order used in

the questions (e.g. *Quo puer ambulat? Ad oppidum puer ambulat*).

2. The pupils are led to recognize the possibilities of a rhetorical word order in English through the use of pronoun case forms (e.g. "Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, Him declare I unto you").

3. The pupils are encouraged to observe the order of words usually employed by the Latin author being read and to note the rhetorical effects produced by any radical variation in that order.

4. The pupils practise comprehension at sight by using a notched card to force themselves to comprehend, whenever possible, each word or word group as it comes.

5. The teacher writes a new Latin passage on the board, pausing after each word, and the pupils try to anticipate what will come next.

6. The pupils formulate under the teacher's guidance a few important general rules for "normal" Latin word order.

7. The pupils follow "normal" Latin word order in all their own writing of Latin, unless special rhetorical effects are indicated.

Objective 10 is placed last in the list of objectives given on p. 131, not because the writer considers it last or least in importance, but because attitudes are to a very great extent attained incidentally and indirectly and because most of the classroom activities recommended above as helpful for the attainment of the Objectives 1 to 9 contribute also to the attainment of Objective 10. No separate list of classroom activities, therefore, need be set up for its attainment.

The writer wishes in closing to express his own conviction, which he hopes in time can be verified by objective evidence, that any teacher of Latin who provides for his pupils the genuine sort of language experience urged in this paper will feel well repaid in the interest and enthusiasm of his pupils and, furthermore, that he will, if we know anything at all about the laws of learning, very greatly increase his pupils' chances of success in attaining both the immediate and the ultimate objectives which that teacher may have set up as valid in the teaching of Latin.

Notes

[All contributions in the form of notes for this department should be sent directly to John A. Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.]

ECHOES OF CATULLUS IN THE MESSIANIC ECLOGUE OF VERGIL

In the so-called Messianic *Eclogue* of Vergil, in the prophecy of the "wonder-child" who shall usher in the Golden Age, there are four features which bear strong resemblances to one portion of the marriage hymn as it found development at the hands of Catullus, viz. that part which occurs near the end of two of the Epithalamia and which concerns itself with the hoped-for offspring of the newly wedded pair.

In the first place, Vergil adopts a method in the fourth *Eclogue* of spreading before his readers panoramawise the deeds of surpassing valor and the future influence of his as yet unborn hero,¹ which is strikingly like Catullus' manner in the sixty-fourth poem (vss. 338-64) of setting forth the brave achievements of Achilles, the predicted son of Peleus and Thetis. This device is made use of elsewhere in ancient literature, notably in the case of the young Astyanax in Book vi of the *Iliad*. Here the child is already born, but the prayer of Hector to Zeus and all the gods for his son and his coming attainments offers a good parallel: "O Zeus and all ye gods, vouchsafe ye that this my son may likewise prove even as I, preeminent amid the Trojans, and as valiant in might, and be a great king of Ilios."²

Secondly, vs. 17 of Vergil's *Eclogue* expresses the notion that the child shall be heir to his father's virtues, which he will find an asset to him in his sway: *Reget patriis virtutibus orbem*. In sim-

¹ Cf. vss. 15-45. See Conington's summary (n. ad vs. 18) of the correspondence of the stages of the coming age with those of the life of the child.

² Cf. *Iliad* vi, 476-78 (Lang, Leaf and Myers' translation).

ilar fashion in the sixty-first poem of Catullus (vss. 214-18), a part of the prayer consists in the petition that a little Torquatus may resemble his father Manlius in his acts as well as his appearance, and inherit the virtues of his mother Vinia :

*Sit suo similis patri
Manlio et facile inscieis
noscitur ab omnibus,
et pudicitiam suo
matris indicet ore.*

Thirdly, there is much the same delicacy in Vergil's treatment of the child ³ of his *Eclogue* which we find in the handling of Torquatus in the sixty-first poem of Catullus. The latter child is *parvulus* (vs. 209) ; the child of the *Eclogue* is *parve puer* (vs. 62). In the case of Torquatus there is a tender anticipation of the first signs of recognition of his parents on the part of the child :

*Torquatus volo parvulus
matris e gremio suae
porrigens teneras manus
dulce rideat ad patrem
semihiente labello* (vss. 209-13).

Such, too, is the case in the *Eclogue*, but there the idea occurs in the form of a gentle command addressed directly to the unborn child, rather than as a prayer.

*Incipe, parve puer, risu cognoscere matrem.*⁴

And finally, there is the cry of the Fates to their spindles in the *Eclogue*, as they speed the child on his destined course :

*"Talia saecula" suis dixerunt, "currite" fusis
concordes stabili fatorum numine Parcae,*

a phrase which obviously reechoes a refrain from the sixty-fourth

³ This tenderness in the treatment of children is a thing characteristic of Vergil ; cf. *parvi luli*, *Aeneid* II, 563, and *parvulus Aeneas* in *Aeneid* IV, 328f. This last phrase is echoed by Juvenal V, 138f.

⁴ F. P. Simpson, *Catullus* : London, Macmillan (1879), notes the similarity of the last half of this line with the *dulce rideat* of Catullus LXI, 212.

poem of Catullus,⁵ again the words of the Fates to their spindles, this time as they foretell the birth of Achilles and unwind his fate:

*Currite ducentes subtegmina, currite, fusi.*⁶

E. MARION SMITH

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A NUANCE IN THE FRIENDSHIP OF CICERO AND ATTICUS

It may well be doubted if Atticus was really of any help to Cicero in making his choice between Caesar and Pompey in 49 B.C. Although originally devoted to the *Optimates*, Atticus came over to Caesar's side, in a practical way, pretty early in the struggle; and when Cicero first definitely decided, it was contrary to the burden of his friend's most recent advice and represented a course of action which Atticus at the last moment did not himself venture to take. A slight nuance in the course of the relations between these friends I should like to call attention to here, since I find no mention of it either in the latest and most detailed biographies by Ciaceri and Drumann-Groebe, or even in Dr. Byrne's valuable and detailed dissertation dealing with Atticus¹; and it is but imperfectly, if at all, elucidated in the works on Cicero's correspondence.

On March 18 when Cicero for the first time announced a decision to side with Pompey (cf. *Ad Atticum* ix, 10, 3: *experiar*

⁵ Cf. A. Sidgwick, *P. Vergili Maronis Opera*: Cambridge, University Press (1905), n. ad *Ecl.* iv, 46. Conington also calls attention to this similarity, noting, however, Vergil's variation of the expression. See also Baehrens' *Catullus*, n. ad lxiv, 326.

⁶ *Catullus* lxiv, 327, etc. Cf. Robinson Ellis, *Commentary on Catullus*: Oxford, University Press (1889), n. ad vs. 326.

¹ Cf. E. Ciaceri, *Cicerone e i Suoi Tempi*: Milano, Società Anonima Editrice Dante Alighieri (2 vols., 1930); W. Drumann-P. Groebe, *Geschichte Roms*: Leipzig, Gebrüder Borntraeger (1929), Vol. VI; and Alice H. Byrne, *Titus Pomponius Atticus*, Chapters of a Biography: Lancaster, Pa., New Era Publishing Co. (1920).

certe ut hinc avolem) he somewhat maliciously, it must be confessed (since the reason offered is obscurely worded, Boot taking it in one sense, and Tyrrell and Purser in another, while in neither sense does it explain such a summary in a private epistle, and hence is simply a bit of rationalization after the act), drew up a summary of the somewhat inconsistent counsels² which Atticus had offered him, running from Jan. 21 to March 9 (*ibid.* ix, 10, 4-10), although even then he omitted quotations from the decidedly anti-Caesarian correspondence of a few weeks earlier, as it appears in a group of letters from the seventh book (cf. Byrne, pp. 75f). This twitting annoyed Atticus, who must have objected to Cicero raising a complaint against him for his advice, since in a letter dated March 23 Cicero feels obliged to apologize and offer by way of excuse: συναγωγή *consiliorum tuorum non est a me collecta ad querelam sed magis ad consolationem meam* (i.e. for having actually done nothing at all hitherto) . . . *quoniam cum consiliis tuis mea facta et consilia consentiunt*. The explanation was lame enough. And of course in that case most of the bitter self-reproach which Cicero heaped upon himself after Pompey had actually left Italy, belongs to Atticus, who had been principally responsible for his conduct. But Cicero clearly had no intention of really alienating his friend, and Atticus did well to accept the apology at its face value. After all the remonstrance was doubtless a very slight matter in comparison with the reproaches which Atticus at that time and for months yet to come must have been receiving from the self-exiled *Optimates* whom he so vociferously favored but never actually supported.

W. A. OLDFATHER

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

² Cf. Tyrrell and Purser, *The Correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero*: London, Longmans, Green and Co. (7 Vols., 1879-1901), IV, p. xxv, n. 3.

Book Reviews

[Review copies of classical books should be sent to the Editorial Office of the JOURNAL at Iowa City. Such works will always be listed in the department of Recent Books, and those which seem most important to the readers of the JOURNAL will also be reviewed in this department. The editors-in-chief reserve the right of appointing reviewers.]

MASON D. GRAY, *The Teaching of Latin*: New York, D. Appleton and Company (1929). Pp. xviii+235. \$2.

This volume was prepared by the late Dr. Gray for teachers and those training to teach in the secondary field. In the compact space of 172 pages there are eleven chapters; the first four introductory chapters set forth and discuss the status of Latin, its place, its objectives, and its motivation; the last seven analyze the immediate and ultimate objectives and present suggestions as to methods of attaining them. The remainder of the volume presents an Appendix most valuable to the Latin teacher, with samples of practical hints and helps for actual classroom work.

An introduction by Professor Klapper states that the author planned to formulate a progressive program for the teaching of Latin, based on definitely posited aims. Taking the *Report* of the Classical Investigation as his point of departure and quoting very freely therefrom, Gray outlined a secondary Latin program established logically upon the status and place of Latin, its objectives, and the methods employed to attain those objectives.

The four introductory chapters offer a comprehensive and intelligent discussion of the much disputed position, aims, and motivation of Latin. Chapters V-VIII consider the immediate objectives and methods of presentation: comprehension and translation, vocabulary, inflections, and syntax. This part of the volume is essentially practical, critically analytical, and of great value whether one agrees with the author's hypotheses or not. Caesar and Cicero are adjudged unsatisfactory for the major reading of the second and third years; Vergil is satisfactory.

There is full discussion of the Latin word-order method with its procedures and dangers. The mastery of vocabulary is handled thoroughly with words important for Latin, for English, for continuous easy narrative, and for oral Latin; the solving of new words, the use and position of vocabularies, intrinsic and extrinsic meanings of words, and continuous drill are emphasized. Repeated warning is made that inflections and syntax cannot be mastered independently of each other, and that all of both the immediate and the ultimate objectives are inevitably woven together and mingled in the high-school course. The inductive rather than the analytical presentation of syntax is urged. Word derivation receives its proper emphasis.

The ultimate objectives are considered fully in Chapters IX-XI. These represent the instrumental and applicatory, the disciplinary or general training, and the historical-cultural aims. These are ably presented both as to content and method, with the contributions that can be made to each by the textbook and the teacher with proper equipment. The reader here is especially impressed by the need of the Latin teacher for training in other foreign languages and in allied fields. Translation, vocabulary, inflections, syntax, collateral reading, and special tests each contribute to the proper mastery of these aims.

The Appendix is probably of more practical value than any other part. It contains the most complete bibliography I have seen, properly subdivided; and it includes practical samples of helpfully arranged teaching and testing material of many kinds.

Two major criticisms of this volume may justly be made. Any progressive program for the teaching of Latin should include, year by year, the forms, principles of syntax, and reading matter suggested for mastery. Gray (pp. 93-95) suggests forms for the first three semesters only. He finds Caesar and Cicero unsuited for the classical translation in the second and third years, yet he offers no definite material to substitute for these authors (pp. 46-51). The definite amount of syntax for mastery is lacking, though syntax is discussed and stressed as a whole. In the second place, the author himself seems of two opinions as to the amount

of time which should be spent upon formal memory work. On pp. 87f and 146f he considers such memory work to have been a weakness of the old course. Yet on pp. 92-95 and 96f he emphasizes the indispensable functions of paradigms. On p. 110 he stresses the conscious mastery and recall of principles of syntax in reading and in oral or written Latin; yet this could hardly be carried on unless certain fundamental principles of syntax were fixed according to the old memorization method.

The volume is a valuable contribution to a field in which too little has been recently published in concrete form.

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

J. MINOR GWYNN

D. S. ROBERTSON, *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Architecture*: Cambridge, University Press (1929). Pp. xxiv + 406, with 135 Figures and 24 Plates. 25s.

This attractive, well-illustrated¹ book by the new Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge² fills a great need in classical studies. It is the best short study of the subject in English, antiquating the confused account in A. Marquand's *Handbook of Greek Architecture*, where Mycenaean and Roman things are mixed with Greek. It is better than W. B. Dinsmoor's revision of Anderson and Spiers, *Greek Architecture*, valuable as that is for Dinsmoor's notes, because it is a completely fresh, reliable introduction to a subject which has changed so much in the light of recent excavations that it is necessary entirely to rewrite the old handbooks. It is better than G. T. Rivoira's *Roman Architecture*, which is exclusively interested in construction. It is a modernization and a condensation of Durm's *Handbuch der Architektur, Die Baukunst der Griechen*, and *Die Baukunst der Etrusker und Römer*.³

¹ The illustration (Pl. III) of the Porch of the Maidens of the Erechtheum was taken before the restoration of the south and west walls.

² It is a good sign that Professor Robertson's first public performance is a book on archaeology. The chasm between pure philology and archaeology is at last filling up; cf. D. S. Robertson, *The Future of Greek Studies*, Inaugural Lecture: Cambridge, University Press (1929).

³ The bibliographical data for the books mentioned in this paragraph are as

Professor Robertson states briefly and clearly the main facts in the history of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman architecture from the earliest times to the foundation of Constantinople, a period of nearly three thousand years. He is familiar with the recent excavations, even those at Doura-Europus and Marzabotto as well as those at Ostia. He knows the work of specialists like Blegen, Buschor, Delbrück, Dinsmoor, Frank, von Gerkan, Hill, Stevens, Miss Van Deman, Wiegand, etc. He sides with Wace in dating the Treasury of Atreus. He has read Noack's theories about triumphal arches. He rejects Cozzo's new dating of the Pantheon to Agrippa. The method of treatment is mainly chronological, though special types of buildings (including Greek and Roman houses and palaces, but with no account of Greek prehistoric houses) are given separate chapters. The book is free from any thesis such as we have in Rivoira or Strzygowski.

Materials and technique are discussed in the course of the general historical exposition. So in Chapter VIII on "Fifth Century Doric" we have six pages devoted to the angle triglyph, "the worm in the Doric bud." Especially interesting is the discussion of the Hellenistic innovations like the assembly halls at Priene and Miletus and the Hypostyle Hall at Delos. The treatment of Roman concrete accepts the conclusion lately put forward by Cozzo. Also valuable is the detailed discussion of the development of vaults and domes in the early Empire, where Professor Robertson follows Rivoira rather than Strzygowski. Professor Robertson has read widely and, generally, has made use of the latest publications, even those of the last years, such as F. Noack's *Eleusis*, G. P. Stevens' *Erechtheum*, R. Schultze's *Basilika*, and G. Cozzo's *Ingegneria Romana*. His chapter on town planning owes much to von Gerkan's *Griechische Städteanlagen*, and his chapter on theaters follows von Gerkan's *Das Theater von Priene* rather than Dörpfeld. One excellent feature is the long Appendix (pp. 322-46) with select chronological

follows: Marquand: New York, Macmillan Co. (1909); Dinsmoor: London, B. T. Batsford (1927); Rivoira: Oxford, Clarendon Press (1925); Durm: Leipzig, Alfred Kröner (1910 and 1905).

tables of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman buildings from 1000 B.C. to A.D. 330. Appendix II (pp. 344-78) has a detailed bibliography of books and articles arranged topically and topographically. It is so complete that it is difficult to understand the omission of such books as H. L. Warren, *The Foundations of Classic Architecture*, R. C. Flickinger, *The Greek Theater and Its Drama*, and H. Thiersch, *Pharos*, the most important book on the subject and yet not used in Robertson's discussion of the lighthouse at Alexandria. We miss also such French publications of North Africa as S. Gsell, *Service des Monuments Historiques de l'Algérie*, and especially S. Gsell and A. Joly, *Khamissa, Mdaourouch, Announa*. These important excavations are not even mentioned. He does not know (p. 220) the recent excavations at Aezani and Schede's discovery of the remarkable acroteria of the temple of Zeus nor my own publication of the important architectural sculptures of the Temple of Augustus,⁴ the Propylaea, and other buildings at Antioch-over-against-Pisidia.⁵ Of course he could not be expected to know the unpublished fourth-century houses excavated at Olynthus and dating before those at Priene and Delos. These houses with their mosaic floors, bathtubs, lavatories, and eight to fourteen rooms on the ground floor show that long before Hellenistic times not all Greek houses were so unpretentious as even the latest books on Greek architecture say. C. W. Blegen's *Zygouries* perhaps appeared too late for inclusion, but there should be a reference to Bassett, "The Palace of Odysseus," *American Journal of Archaeology* xxxiii (1924), 288-311.⁶

⁴ His reference on p. 358 to *Am. Jour. Arch.* xxviii (1929), 43 should be 435, not 43.

⁵ *Art Bulletin* ix (1926), 1-69, where Woodbridge's reconstructions are also published.

⁶ The bibliographical data for the books mentioned in this paragraph are: Noack: Berlin, De Gruyter (1927); Stevens: Harvard University Press (1927); Schultze: Deutsche Archäologische Institut zu Frankfurt a. M. (1928); Cozzo: Rome, Libreria Editrice Mantegazza di P. Cremonese (1928); von Gerkan: Berlin, De Gruyter (1924), and F. Schmidt (1921); Warren: New York, Macmillan Co. (1918); Flickinger³: Chicago, University of Chicago Press (1926); Thiersch: Leipzig, Teubner (1909); Gsell: Paris, A. Fontemoing (1914-1922); Wiegand: Berlin, H. Schoetz (1906-1929); Blegen: Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1928).

The third Appendix is a useful select glossary of architectural terms, though some words like *peperino* are omitted, and there is no mention of S. Kayser's *Terminologie de l'Architecture Grecque*,⁷ or the several articles of Caskey and Lattermann on architectural inscriptions.

A few points may be mentioned for query. Archaeologists are inclined to put the Homeric poems before the ninth century B.C. (p. 35). Many do not accept Blegen's theory that the so-called Doric temple at Tiryns was a Mycenaean megaron (p. 36). In view of Dinsmoor's investigations at the Propylaea the idea of a winding chariot-road (p. 118) and the plan (p. 119) will have to be discarded. Philostratus⁸ says that the Odeum of Herodes Atticus had a roof of cedar-wood and Suidas confirms the statement, so that it was not roofless (p. 276). But this is not the place to indulge in strictures. Let us be thankful that at last we have a scholarly up-to-date handbook of Greek and Roman architecture which we can recommend most highly to all.

DAVID M. ROBINSON

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

J. U. POWELL AND E. A. BARBER, *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature*, Second Series: Oxford, Clarendon Press (1929). Pp. viii+232. \$5.

The First Series of *New Chapters* appeared in 1921 (Oxford, Clarendon Press). It is the purpose of both volumes to present in readily available form some of the recent discoveries in Greek poetry and prose, chiefly of the fourth century B.C. and later times. To the present volume eleven specialists have contributed the following articles: E. A. Barber, "Callimachus"; Gilbert Murray, "Menander"; J. U. Powell, "Later Epic Poetry," "New Epigrams from Inscriptions," and "Additions to the Chapter on Later Lyric Poetry and the Moralists in the First Series"; E. M. Walker, "New Fragments of Historical Prose"; G. C. Richards, "Timachidas"; W. M. Edwards, "Dialogue, Diatribe and Rhe-

⁷ Paris, Champion (1909).

⁸ *Vit. Soph.* II, 1, 8.

torical Exercise"; C. C. Edgar, "The Papyri of Zenon"; C. J. Ellingham, "Letters of Private Persons"; J. F. Mountford, "Greek Music"; and E. T. Withington, "Medicine." The appendices contain, among other matters, considerable fragments of Hesiodic poetry. Furthermore, in Appendix III, E. P. Rice deals with *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* III (1903), No. 413.

The Callimachus fragments shed new light not only on the writer himself but also on his influence in later times. The so-called New Epigrams are new only in the sense that they have been discovered subsequently to the publication of Kaibel's collections in the late seventies (*Epigrammata Graeca ex Lapidibus Collecta* and Appendix in *Hermes*¹ xxxiv, 181). Some of them, however, make interesting and valuable contributions to our knowledge of antiquity. For example, we learn for the first time of Xanthippus of Elatea, who "twice freed his state from the tyrant's chain," and of the champion boxer, Theogenes of Thasos, who remained undefeated for twenty-two years, achieving great glory in the Panhellenic games in addition to winning thirteen hundred "private" victories (pp. 47-49). A stone, found at Olympia, reveals in fragmentary remains the Doric original of *Anthologia Palatina* xiii, 16. Another inscription, found at Salamis, enables us to correct the first two lines of an epigram on the Corinthians who fell at Salamis, and to reject the last two lines as spurious (pp. 49-59).² These few illustrations will suffice to show how the present volume makes important additions to our knowledge of antiquity.

The one disappointing article in the book is that by Professor Murray on Menander. To be sure, Menander is a new poet. But why should a chapter in a book of this character begin (p. 9) by telling us that Menander was the son of Diopeithes and the chief poet of Athenian New Comedy, that he was born in 342 B.C., that he died in 290? T. W. Lumb discussed the fragments found in 1905 by Lefebvre in the First Series of *New Chapters*

¹ So the author; but the reference should read *Rh. Mus.* xxxiv (1879), 181-213.

² Cf. Plutarch, *Mor.* 870E, and Dio Chrys. *Or.* xxxvii, p. 298, Dindorf.

(pp. 66-98); consequently, Professor Murray does not have much to offer that is really new. No reader can be expected to become enthusiastic over the newness of passages contained in Kock's *Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta* (1888). Menander, according to Professor Murray, was "an Athenian gentleman, a product of high civilization and culture," and had "a keen interest in the spectacle of life, and an infinite belief in patience, affection, and sympathy" (p. 13).

Such great finds as Aristotle's *Constitution*, Herondas' *Mimes*, and Bacchylides' *Odes* have all appeared under individual and elaborate covers. To the editors and authors of *New Chapters* we are greatly indebted for publishing in convenient form authoritative accounts of the lesser but not unimportant finds.

ALFRED P. DORJAHN

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

CESARE FOLIGNO, *Latin Thought During the Middle Ages*: Oxford, Clarendon Press (1929). Pp. viii+120, with six illustrations. \$1.75.

An excellent addition to the bibliography of the Middle Ages is here made by the scholarly Serenus Professor of Italian at Oxford University. Mediaevalists, students of history, archaeologists, even the general reader will find the material valuable and entertainingly presented. The author states that his purpose is to show how and why the Roman impress is discoverable in every cultured man of the epoch, and he discusses the topic in seven essays, which constitute an interesting epitome of a fascinating era.

The divisions of the subject are: I, "Rome and the Middle Ages"; II, "The Salvage"; III, "The Christian Contribution"; IV, "Summaries"; V, "The Scottish Age" (by which Irish is meant); VI, "Charlemagne"; and VII, "The Schoolmen and After." The style is pointed and epigrammatic with brilliant flashes of consummate power; the illustrations are attractive with interesting data supplied referring to their historical background; the typography is excellent, only one misprint being noted:

"northern" for "northerner" (p. 92); "heathens" (pp. 43 and 55) as a plural for the substantive use of the word, has the authority of the Oxford dictionary, though the American usage recognizes only "heathen."

A trifling inconsistency in spelling occurs: "Martianus" (47), "Marcianus" (56); "Ebrus" for "Ebro" (118); "Radulphus" (93), "Rudolphus" (111); "Marius Victor" (43 and 71), "Victorinus" (120); and "Theodolphus" (82), "Teodolphus" (120).

The Index has inaccuracies in the way of (1) irregular alphabetization, "Athens" and "Attila"; (2) incorrect pagination, "Africa, 62"; "Alcuin, 66"; "Cassiodorus, 50"; "Greek, 106"; "Mussato, 108" instead of "112"; "Rutilius, 29" instead of "21"; "Spain, 19"; (3) omissions, "Africans," 62; "Apollinaris," 71; "Benedict Biscop," 66; "*Capella*" with a cross reference to "Martianus"; "Greece," 19; "Hellenic," 48; "Hellenism," 5, 14; "Irish," 12, 80; "Jeremiah," 70; "Latin," numerous occurrences; "Ossianic," 3; "Rolando da Piazzola," 112; "Rome," frequent references; "Sallust," 71, 72; and "Tacitus," 2.

The bibliographical note (114f) lists all important authorities who have contributed to our knowledge of the Middle Ages and is invaluable to students desiring to pursue further investigation in this field.

MYRA ROGERS

NEWCOMB COLLEGE
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MICHAEL I. ROSTOVITZ, *Mystic Italy* (the 1927 Colver Lectures): New York, Henry Holt and Company (1928). Pp. xxi+176. \$2.50.

No more significant or valuable work is being done in the classical field in this country today than by this Russian émigré, who after six years at the University of Wisconsin has occupied a professorship at Yale since 1925. I refer in particular to his *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (1926) and to his *History of the Ancient World* in two volumes (1926 and 1927), all published by the Oxford University Press. The present

volume, however, is distinctly less pretentious, doubtless on account of the fact that the various chapters were primarily prepared as lectures for a popular audience. The title, also, is somewhat misleading, as the author (p. xi) himself confesses. "My book," he states (p. xii), "must be regarded as an essay, not as a learned monograph."

The three chapters are devoted to "Mystic Italy" (pp. 3-23), "Mystic Pompeii" (pp. 27-98), and "Mystic Rome" (pp. 101-55). These are mysterious and intriguing titles. What we actually find is that Chapter I is an introduction, while Chapter II deals mainly with the Villa Mystica (Villa Item) at Pompeii and the "Homeric" house on the Strada dell' Abbondanza and Chapter III with the subterranean "basilica" near the Porta Maggiore at Rome. As the author indicates (p. xiv), every point in such a subject is controversial, and it is obviously impossible to discuss details here. Nevertheless, I found the treatment extremely interesting, since I happen to have visited all three of these monuments. In my judgment investigators have not yet followed the right clue in interpreting the frescoes at the Villa Item. Just as a Florentine dramatist intercalated the scenes of a second play between the intermissions of the first play,¹ so I believe that somewhat similarly the scenes of these frescoes are not to be interpreted successively as they stand, but have two, or possibly three, themes interwoven; more concretely, that certain figures who are obviously looking at something are not looking at figures in the same or an adjoining panel but clear across the room towards a fresco on another wall. In Plate IV, 2, also, what the stooping boy actually sees in the bowl before him (though the painting does not exactly conform to the laws of physics) is the reflection of the silenus mask held behind him by his neighbor — a fake *katoptromanteia*.

There seems to be an inconsistency between the following passages:

Nobody speaks now of Rome and Italy as a land of parvenus who paraded in the brilliant feathers of a foreign civilization. We know better now. We know that Italy originated a new phase in the develop-

¹ Cf. *Jour. Hell. Stud.* XLVIII (1928), 86.

ment of ancient civilization, a new aspect of Hellenistic culture. Latin literature, Latin art, Latin law, Latin statecraft, contained new elements and brought real progress in the history of civilization. [P. 9]

The classical literature of the Augustan age, with all its brilliance and refinement, is not able to produce new genres, new literary forms, new and inspiring ideas. The Roman art of the First and Second Centuries A.D., majestic and gorgeous as it is, lacks the fire of genius which animates even the works of minor artists of the classical and Hellenistic period. [P. 18]

Numerous illustrations lend vividness and interest to an attractive volume. The Notes (pp. 159-76), as usually happens, fail to provide adequate bibliographical data in citing books and periodical literature.

ROY C. FLICKINGER

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

EDWARD HUTTON, *A Glimpse of Greece*: New York, Macmillan Company (1928). Pp. xii+324. \$6.

Mr. Edward Hutton is an accomplished writer who is favorably known by a goodly number of travel books which have come from his pen. The present volume is well named. The author makes no claim to intimate knowledge of the whole of Greece. For the most part he describes what many tourists have seen in the course of a three weeks' visit, although here and there he has taken more trouble than most of them are willing to take, as in his ride from Bassae to Olympia or in his visit to the Valley of the Muses. Just as his work is not a comprehensive guide-book, so, it must be admitted, it falls somewhat short of that accuracy in matters of archaeology, topography, and literary history which the classical student might expect. It may seem invidious to mark minute faults in a book full of charm and of character, but by way of illustrating the criticism a few typical errors may be noted. The real Dicaearchus could not have seen the Odeum of Herodes Atticus (p. 41), and most critics do not believe that Plato "voyaged to Egypt to visit the doctors and priests of the Nile" (p. 55). On p. 59 the writer mistranslates Aristophanes and loses a part of the joke. On p. 96 one wonders how he makes Dionysus responsible for the death of Dirce. On

p. 71 some errors regarding the position of the Great Marsh at Marathon with reference to the Cynosura peninsula and the town of Marathon are made manifest by a glance at Frazer's map.

But to linger long over such matters, important as they may seem to the specialist, is to lose the flavor of a book which is full of treasures for a prospective visitor to Greece and still richer for one who has been there. Mr. Hutton has an artist's eye for the incomparable beauty of the Greek landscape and writes of it with a poetical enthusiasm for mountain and sea, trees and flowers, as well as for the ruined yet still unbelievably beautiful temples of the Holy Land of the Hellenist. Further, despite minor slips, he brings his reading of Greek authors to bear upon what he sees with a neat appropriateness which is not always characteristic of professional scholars. He has some sturdy prejudices, as appears in his vigorous and amusing condemnation of Mistra and things Byzantine (p. 264), and he has a sharp enough tongue for some of the nuisances that beset the western wayfarer (p. 224). But these things only add spice to a book which can be recommended as a generous appreciation of the most beautiful of countries.

The volume is a little cumbersome for a traveler's baggage, and its light blue cover is more suitable for the library than for the journey. Print and paper are of the best, the illustrations are good in the main (though some of the amateur photographs are overexposed), and not too hackneyed; and there is an excellent map at the back of the book. But why could not the publishers have offered the book at a smaller price and thereby (probably) doubled or trebled its sale?

CAMPBELL BONNER

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

FRED B. R. HELLEMS, *The King's Market and Other Studies*:
Boulder, The University of Colorado (1929). Pp. xii+365.
\$1.

The author of this volume died at Boulder on April 19, 1929. A native of Canada, he was graduated from the University of Toronto in 1893. The University of Chicago conferred the doc-

tor's degree upon him in 1898, after which he went directly to the University of Colorado as professor of Latin. He was dean of the college of arts and sciences for thirty years and acting president for one year. His classical studies centered in the age of the Flavian emperors, on which he was a recognized authority. He also published many articles in nonclassical periodicals. His high scholarly ideals were ever in evidence in his personal relations to the university as a wise and kind administrator and a sympathetic and stimulating teacher.

The present volume contains seventeen essays on education, philosophy, literature, art, and travel published by the University of Colorado "in grateful memory of its author." Hellems was a man of wide and varied interests, and in a brief review it seems best to narrow the discussion to certain essays of particular interest to the reviewer. In the section devoted to Education are four papers entitled "The King's Market," "Alice and Education," "The Professional Quintain," and "Estimating the Efficiency of Teachers." These four essays show that the author had a liberal mind open to new theories in education but not following every "will-o'-the-wisp."

In Ceylon the school is called the "King's Market,"

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high. Where knowledge is free. Where we strive to give rather than take. Where words come out from the depths of truth. Where tireless striving stretches its arms toward perfection. Where the mind is led forward into ever widening thought and action. Where the young are prepared for the heaven of freedom that knowledge and virtue alone can give. [P. 6]

In discussing the activities in America's "King's Market" Hellems touches on such subjects as the cultural values in education, utilitarianism, back-to-nature movement, onto-phylogenetic parallelism, transfer of training, vocational and industrial education, economy of time in education, etc. Truly a mine of controversial subjects! His attitude towards this "storm and stress" in education is fundamentally sound. A strong case is made for "the honest teacher who modestly but persistently demands that funda-

mental innovations shall be convincingly justified before they are finally adopted" (p. 15). We Latin teachers would do well to follow this sound bit of advice.

All lovers of Alice and her adventures will revel in Dean Hellems' discussion of "Alice and Education." It is his thesis that Lewis Carroll was writing an allegory of education. From this point of view the Lobster Quadrille represented the importance of the play element in the development of the child with the Mock Turtle and the Gryphon as the kindergarten teachers, the Garden of Live Flowers was nature-study, Alice and the White King and Queen stood for the abuse of memory, the Gryphon's lesson that shortened from day to day represented the movement to shorten the period of formal study, the Cook was the champion of the theories of self-expression and vocational activity, and Tweedledum and Tweedledee represented methods in education. The problems of higher education which according to Hellems were in the mind of Carroll were the Elective System and Original Research. The Elective System was Alice's caucus race which was proposed and managed by that master of long-winded oratory, the Dodo. I think Hellems was inclined to agree with Alice when it is said that "Alice thought the whole thing very absurd, but they all looked so grave that she did not dare to laugh." Original Research is typified by that crusader for learning for its own sake, the White Knight, whose mind goes on working just the same when he is upside down and whose love for pure research is shown by his attitude toward a pudding which he has invented when he says "I don't believe that pudding ever was cooked. In fact, I don't believe that pudding ever will be cooked. And yet it was a very clever pudding to invent." Lovers of Latin and Greek will be interested in the Gryphon and Mock Turtle's dispute over the value of the classics. The Gryphon calls the classics professor an old crab while the Mock Turtle claims that he teaches Laughing and Grief. Whether Lewis Carroll meant to point out the possible humanistic value of the classics, if properly taught, and their possible deadening influence, if mechanically taught, or whether he wished to maintain that not to every

man it is given to "enter the kingdom" is hard to say. The moral for educators which Dean Hellems carries away from the *Wonderland* and the *Looking Glass* is that "in all education human creatures are the one thing important." In the *Wonderland* the characters are only a pack of cards and in the *Looking Glass* there is only a play banquet. Says Hellems (p. 47) :

So has it fared, so will it ever fare with all systems and theories of education that place their faith in methods or mechanism, and would raise themselves above human nature. Eventually the children of men will eat bread and butter instead of dream-cakes, will shake the Red Queen into a companionable kitten, will come back from Wonderland to the simple natural life of healthful human beings.

In the "Professional Quintain" our author discusses the fairly common attitude of the world at large towards the college professor as indicated by the words of the British sailor, "I say, Bill, 'ere's a quiet lookin' cove, let's 'eave 'arf a brick at 'im." Hellems maintains that after the many attacks, humorous and otherwise, made on him, the Professor might well quote from *As You Like It*: "My better parts are all thrown down, and that which stands up, is but a quintain, a mere lifeless block." College professors, at least, will read with pleasure this spirited and intelligent defense of their clan. He maintains that their legitimate critics, the students, would not support the following charges made against the long-suffering professors (pp. 59f) :

1. They do not teach even the kind of thinking that leads to understanding.
2. They turn out slavish followers of convention and routine.
3. They stifle interest in social and industrial problems.
4. They do not inspire a respect for truth and freedom.
5. They repress any passion for ideals.

Every teacher will be interested in Hellems' ideas in regard to the estimate of the efficiency of a teacher. He discusses the importance of good technical equipment, teaching ability, research and publication, committee work, lectures and extension work, and personal influence on students. However, he does not argue for a uniform faculty but rather one of infinite variety in personality and interests. He says (p. 77) : "I should like to see the members

of a staff range from the sternest scientist to the writer of playful verse, from the empyrean-cleaving idealistic philosopher to the loyal correcter of misplaced commas."

The essays on philosophy, literature, art, and travel are just as worth while as those on education — perhaps more so. However, as a teacher of the classics I was particularly interested in reading the educational philosophy of a classical scholar engaged in college administration. Dr. Hellems' wise acceptance of educational reforms which had proved themselves but his refusal to be swept off his feet by every new educational remedy impresses one as a very sensible and classical attitude of mind. This book refutes the belief held in some quarters that a classical scholar is always a reactionary in his educational credo. Was Dr. Hellems typical of his kind? I hope and believe so.

MARK E. HUTCHINSON

CORNELL COLLEGE

Hints for Teachers

[Edited by Marie B. Denneen, North Carolina College for Women, Greensboro, N. C. The aims of this department are threefold: to assist the inexperienced teacher of Latin, to help the experienced teacher keep in touch with matters of interest in the professional world, and to serve as a receiving center and distributing point for questions and contributions on teaching problems. Questions will be answered by mail or in the pages of this department. Contributions in the form of short paragraphs dealing with projects, tests, interest devices, methods, and materials are requested. All correspondence should be addressed to the editor of this department.]

The First Aviators

From Loura B. Woodruff of the Oak Park and River Forest (Ill.) Township High School has been obtained the text of an interesting Latin playlet presented at that school last year. Two boys performed the parts of Daedalus and Icarus, and by means of a third boy acting as announcer the story was cleverly linked up with Vergil and the bimillennial celebration.

Daedalus is busily placing feathers side by side as he makes wings for himself and his son, Icarus. Icarus comes running in.

Icarus. *Quid facis, pater?*

Daedalus. *Alās faciō, mī fili. Vidēsne alās meās?* (He shows Icarus his wings. Icarus looks at them curiously, then picks up a feather and blows it into the air.)

Icarus. *Cūr, pater, alās facis? Putāsne tē volāre posse?*

Daedalus. *Certē. Volāre poterō.* (He puts on his wings and moves his arms up and down.) *Tū quoque volāre poteris, nam tibi alās faciō. Hae alae tuae sunt. Eās indue.* (Daedalus helps Icarus put on the wings, then stands aside to see how they fit.) *Eās bene geris.*

Icarus (working his arms to test his wings). *Alās amō. Nunc volāre poterō.*

Daedalus. *Brevi tempore ego et tū ab hāc terrā volābimus.*

Icarus. *Cūr nōn nāvigābimus? Nōnne sunt multae nāvēs?*

Daedalus. *Rēx Mīnōs prohibet nē nāvem habeamus. Rēx Mīnōs nōn vult nōs discēdere. Nōs in hāc insulā manēre vult.*

Icarus. *Cūr in hāc insulā manēre nōn vīs?*

Daedalus. *Quod in hāc insulā liber nōn sum et captivus esse nōlō. Liber esse cupiō, et tē liberum esse cupiō.*

Icarus (again moving his wings). *Liber nunc sum. Alās habeo.*

Daedalus. *Liber eris, nam cum Minōs terram et mare claudere possit, nōn prohibēre potest quōminus per aera eāmus.*

Icarus. *Ego per aera ire possum.*

Daedalus. *Per aera ire potes, sed nōlī altius volāre.*

Icarus. *Cūr, pater? Altissimē volāre cupiō.*

Daedalus. *Altissimē volāre periculōsum erit, quod sōl cēram quā alae tuae alligantur molliet, et tū in mare cadēs.*

Icarus. *In mare nōn cadam.*

Daedalus. *Bene. Nunc parātī sumus. Ab hāc terrā celeriter volābimus. Mē sequere.* (They leave the room moving their arms as if flapping wings.)

Announcer. You have seen Daedalus and Icarus take off from this field and disappear in the hazy dimness of the outer hall, and you are doubtless awaiting with bated breath news of their safe arrival at their destination. But the radio of the past sends back sad word concerning Icarus. In the ecstasy of his flight, the boy forgot the warning of his father not to fly too near the sun and flew ever higher and higher until the wax that bound his wings melted and the wings slipped from his shoulders and he fell into the sea which from that time has been known as the Icarian Sea.

The poet Vergil says: "Daedalus, as the story goes, when fleeing from the kingdom of Minos, dared to trust himself to the sky on swift wings. Along the unaccustomed way he skimmed to the icy north and at last gently lighted upon the citadel of Cumae. Here first coming back to earth, he consecrated his wings to thee, Apollo, and built an immense temple in thy honor. On the doors was the destruction of Androgeus, and the Athenians were ordered to pay the penalty (O pitiable sight), seven living sons each year. There stands the urn from which the lots were drawn. Opposite this stands the land of Crete uplifted from the sea. Here is that house of wondrous workmanship, the intricate labyrinth. But lo, Daedalus himself, aroused to pity by the great love of the princess, disclosed the deceptive mazes of the building, guiding the blind footsteps [of her lover, Theseus] with a thread. You, also, would have a great share in so great a work, Icarus, if grief permitted. Twice Daedalus had tried to mold the accident in gold, twice his hands fell helpless [because of his love for his lost son]."

This was followed by a short account of Vergil's life and an explanation of that for which he stands and the recognition that is being accorded him in the Bimillennium Vergilianum.

Metrical Licenses of Vergil

A limited edition of the little volume by this title is now

available. The monograph written by the late Dr. H. W. Johnston has been out of print for some years but was reprinted recently by Scott, Foresman and Company, Chicago, because of the interest in the celebration of the Bimillennium. Price \$1, postpaid.

Italian Stamps

On the front page of *Mekeel's Weekly Stamp News* for May 26, 1930, there is featured a "Special Italian Issue, Commemorating the Second Millenary of the Roman Poet Virgil." Ten stamps are pictured, each bearing the following: *Poste Italiane, Secondo Millenario Virgiliano*, and *Antiquam Exquirite Matrem*. Six of the quotations are from the *Aeneid*, three from the *Georgics*, and one from the *Bucolics*. The illustrations are appropriate and are clear in spite of the size. Single copies 5 cents. Address Severn-Wylie-Jewett Co., 226 Federal St., Portland, Me.

Bimillennium Vergilianum Special Offer

The American Classical League by special arrangements with the publishers can send the following volumes postpaid for less than the usual retail prices:

Gertrude Atherton, *Dido, Queen of Hearts*, at \$2.00 (list price \$2.50); E. K. Rand, *In Quest of Virgil's Birthplace* at \$2.00 (list price \$2.50); J. W. Mackail, *Virgil* (Our Debt to Greece and Rome Series) at \$1.40 (list price \$1.75); Elizabeth Nitchie, *Master Vergil*, an Anthology of Poems in English on Vergil and Vergilian Themes, at \$1.00; Helen Leech, *Cruising with Aeneas*, the Geography of His Voyage, at 50 cents (10 or more, 40 cents each). Orders accompanied by checks should be sent to the American Classical League, University Heights, New York City.

Eastman Educational Slides

A recent announcement from the Eastman Educational Slides, Iowa City, Ia., states that it is now possible to order assorted slides. Frequently a teacher or a school cannot afford the complete sets of slides but would like to make up a set from the wide selection available. The privilege of ordering one slide or more

applies to all Eastman pictures. The prices are 60 cents for each slide in black and white, and 80 cents in sepia.

Set No. 120 — "Vergil and His Times" — contains fifty slides. Part of the pictures in the set are selected for Vergil and part for the *Aeneid*. They were arranged for the purpose of aiding teachers in commemorating the Bimillennium Vergilianum. Notes accompany the pictures, and they would provide a splendid program for the Latin club or for assembly. Price \$30 black and white; \$40 sepia.

Classical Picnic

A Classical Club picnic at the State University of Iowa during the Summer Session of 1929 took its followers back to the days of Vergil in the spirit of the Bimillennium. The theme of the festivity, in part, was adapted from the fifth book of Vergil's *Aeneid*. Since an entertainment of this type is of interest to teachers because of the ease with which it may be enacted in any city park or school playground, a sketch of the program is here presented.

First, two charioteers, Mnestheus and Cloanthus, in yellow and green costumes, with four steeds each, ran the course marked off by trees. (This race might easily be run by four teams of boys or girls, adding the charioteers, Gyas and Sergestus, to carry out the idea of the four ships in the *Aeneid*.) The "son of Anchises" proclaimed the victor and with willow wreathed his brows. In the same manner, after each of the following contests, did the *Magister Ludorum* reward the victors.

Next the foot-racers were lured on by the hope of rewards. The racers bore the names Nisus and Euryalus, Dioreas, Salius and Patron, Helymus and Panopes, and, for convenience, ran the same course that had been used in the previous contest. In order that all might participate, two races were held; one for men, the other for women.

Discus throwing was then engaged in by the men of the faculty. Paper plates used for the purpose afforded much amusement because of the difficulty in handling and in aiming the throw.

The women of the faculty were invited to contend with swift arrows. A celluloid bird was suspended from the limb of a tree. The bows and arrows were provided by one of the members of the club. Bearing the names of Aeneas' followers — Hippocoon, Mnestheus, Eurytion, and Acestes — the contestants bent their bows into a curve and drew their shafts from quivers.

A gladiatorial combat was the last contest. Dares and Entellus, in Roman costume but with wooden swords, fought against each other fiercely until one fell wounded. The victor, standing over the vanquished, awaited the pleasure of the spectators, who answered with the Roman sign for mercy. (This combat was carefully rehearsed in advance.)

While preparations for the repast were being made, the Sibyl, in a secluded bower, was giving audience to those desirous of knowing Vergil's prophecies for them. Oak leaves, cut from paper, had written upon them prophetic lines of Vergil. Each devotee asked for a given page, and the oak leaf bearing a line of that page was the message from the fates. Another method (one from the Middle Ages) was also demonstrated. In this the one who sought to know his or her fate asked a question and with eyes closed placed his finger upon a line of Vergil. The line translated formed the answer to the question.

The committee in charge of the program consisted of Damian Baker, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., Florence Johnston, Kansas State Teachers College, Pittsburg, Kans., and Lillian Grace Halverson, Manchester, Ia.

Interesting the Student Body in Vergil

Sarah Lesley of Greensboro High School, Greensboro, N. C., and the students in her Vergil classes planned a number of novel ways by which they might acquaint the student body as a whole with the life and work of Vergil. A clear idea of the plan may be obtained from a letter received from Miss Lesley:

We expect to use just five minutes of one chapel program a week to give some phase of the poet's life or work. Last Friday a debate was given: Resolved, that V-e-r-g-i-l is the correct way of spelling the great

poet's name. We were pleased to see that it caught the interest of the student body. What we want to do is to get the entire student body interested in our poet. For the next two weeks we have planned the recitation of Tennyson's poem and the recitation of the first eleven lines of the *Aeneid*, both to music.

The class will sponsor a contest of essays on the life and work of the poet open to all except students of Vergil. When they reach the fifth book, they will probably "broadcast" the contest between Dares and Entellus.

Each issue of *High Life* (the school paper) will feature Vergil in some way, and there is to be an issue of *Homespun* (the school magazine), edited by the Vergil classes. We shall also give one assembly program, probably a dramatization or a play.

The May, 1930, issue of *Homespun* was dedicated to Vergil. The Vergilian articles, poems, etc., were cleverly interwoven under the general headings: "The Weave," "Colors in the Weave," "Warp and Woof," "Tangled Threads," "Patterns," "Ravelings," "The Shuttle," and "The Weaver's Guild." The "Ravelings" included Mercury Visits Aeneas, Helen of Troy, Requiescat in Pace, and Vergil's Ghost.

School Papers Devoting Space to Vergil

Many of the Latin newspapers published by high-school or college students have been featuring Vergil in several issues or have dedicated an entire issue to his memory. The following are some of the interesting papers which have been received by the editor of this department:

Nuntius, Senior High School, Little Rock, Ark. *Praeceptores*, Essie Hill and Anne B. Chandler. The April, 1930, edition was dedicated to the Bimillennium Vergilianum. Price 10 cents per copy.

The Durfee Review, Durfee Intermediate High School, Detroit, Mich. Faculty Adviser, La Beryl Hayllar. The classical issue (Vol. II, No. 8) was dedicated to the memory of Vergil, containing articles prepared by pupils of language classes under direction of Roxa Carroll.

Vox in Desertis Clamans, University of Mississippi, University,

Miss. *Monitor Gregis*, Alexander Bondurant, and *Monitor Gregis Adiuuans*, Domina Diggs.

In Memoriam Vergili, Clifton Forge, Va. Faculty Adviser, Flora Helena Lynn.

The Pegasus, John Marshall High School, Cleveland, O. Faculty Advisers, June Eddingfield and Henrietta Brown. Price 35 cents per year; single copies, 10 cents.

St. Mary's Chimes, St. Mary's College, Notre Dame, Ind. Editor-in-chief, Isabel Edelen, '31. The April, 1930, issue was devoted to the Bimillennium Vergilianum. Price \$2 per annum.

Parallels between Ancient and Modern Times

An Associated Press report dated April 28, 1930, tells of the experiment of Dr. Karl von Frisch of the University of Munich who "taught blinded minnows to react to sounds of whistles and tuning forks and to distinguish between a sound meaning food and a warning sound carrying punishment in the form of a light blow with a glass rod." It is said that some of the minnows were able to differentiate between the sounds at a distance of two hundred feet. This reminds us of several of Martial's *Epigrams*. In iv, 30, 6f Martial tells about the tame fish in Domitian's private fishpond. He says that each of them when called responded to its master's voice: *Quid quod nomen habent et ad magistri vocem quisque sui venit citatus?* Similarly in x, 30, 21-24 Martial describes another fishpond in which the tame fish come when called.

Another Associated Press report dated May 6, 1930, describes the hundreds of fires sweeping New England. The statement reads that "All able-bodied men who come to the scene of a fire will be ordered to fight the blaze, those who refuse facing arrest." This reminds one of Trajan's answer to a *Letter* of Pliny the Younger (x, 34). Pliny had informed the emperor about a fire in Nicomedia, a city in his province of Bithynia, and the destruction of several public buildings. Pliny had suggested that a fire company be organized to prevent such disasters in the future. But the emperor, because of his fear that any sort of organization

would soon engage in political and treasonable activities in this troubled province, would not listen to the suggestion of Pliny, but suggested instead that buckets and other implements for fighting fires be made available and that in case of fire the bystanders be forced to come to the assistance of the owner of the property: *Satius itaque est comparari ea quae ad coercendos ignes auxilio esse possint admonerique dominos praediorum ut et ipsi inhibeat, ac si res poposcerit, accursu populi ad hoc uti.*

B. L. ULLMAN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Songs for Latin Classes

The Hesperian, published by the Latin Department of the Western High School, Washington, D. C., has devoted an entire number (December, 1929) to songs for use in Latin classes. Clara May Harlan is the faculty adviser for the paper, and Mary E. Bass, also of Western High School, translated a number of the songs. Included in the group of songs (thirty-six in all) there are the usual ones: "America," "Silent Night," "Adeste Fideles," etc.; and in addition there are Latin versions of such songs as "Dixie," "Carry Me Back to Ole Virginny," "O Beautiful for Spacious Skies," "Father and Mother Are Irish," and "Good Night, Ladies." Single copies five cents.

The Roman Council

The Latin students in the Los Angeles City High Schools have an organization known as the "Roman Council." The Council was founded in 1926 and held meetings regularly once a month until the recent interest in the Vergil Pageant. We have been promised an account of the organization later in the year. An interesting pamphlet called *The Roman Council*, containing a summary of the activities and programs of the club, will be sent free of charge upon request. Address Miss Josephine Abel, Director of Classical Center, 358 Chamber of Commerce Building, Los Angeles, Calif.

Current Events

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., and John Barker Stearns, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H., for territory covered by the Associations of New England and the Atlantic States; Daniel W. Lothman, East High School, Cleveland, O., for the Middle States east of the Mississippi River; George Howe, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C., for the Southeastern States; Walter Miller, the University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., for the Southwestern States; and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia., for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Frederic S. Dunn, University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore.]

This department will present everything that is properly news of general appeal, but considerations of space compel the editors to ask that items be made as brief as possible. Whenever feasible, it is preferable to print programs of meetings which would draw an attendance from a large area as live news in advance of the date rather than as dead news after the event. In this connection it should be remembered that the November issue, e.g., appears on October fifteenth and that items must be in hand five or six weeks in advance of this date.]

Beverly Hills, California

The classical spirit was evident at Beverly Hills High School on March 25, 1930, when the S. P. Q. R., the Latin club of the school, dedicated to the Muses the new Fine Arts Building. The court was fitted up to represent a court in the splendid home of a soldier-statesman of the Golden Age of Rome. Wall fountains at either end helped to carry out the idea. About the walls were displayed the armor of the pater familias, and massed shrubbery and flowers produced a gay effect. Besides the pater familias were the mater, four children, the family priest, and several guests in Roman dress.

The nine Muses, guests of honor and judges of the first pentathlon, entered in a procession preceded by the boy of the house, playing the flute. The pater familias welcomed the guests and explained the significance of the occasion and then, because the ceremony was a religious one, turned it over to the priest, who solemnly invoked the favor of the gods and purified the family gifts by sprinkling and by fire.

The five events of the first pentathlon followed: contests in oratory, epic poetry, flute music, original Latin story, and dancing. The selections from Cicero and Vergil were given in an effective manner and added to the impressiveness of the occasion. The music for the flutes was adapted from strictly Greek themes. The original Latin stories were

chosen from a class exercise, and the dances composed by the students in the dancing classes.

At the close of this pentathlon in the court the company adjourned to the lawn, where the pater, now become Hellanodick, explained the ideals that inspired the Greek games and the impetus that the games furnished to art and to civilization. He called attention to the similarity of California hills and vales to the topography of Greece and to the fact that our language is so largely derived from the two classical languages, Latin and Greek. He then waited for the priest to consult the auspices; and while all eyes were turned to the hill where the green altar stood, eight pigeons arose, fluttered, whirled, and made straight for the east, indicating that the gods favored the occasion.

At the summons of the Hellanodick boy runners took their places and, when the signal was called, sped down the grassy course. The girl runners came next in their gaily colored costumes fashioned after the wood nymphs of Greece. Sturdy athletes hurled discus and javelin in the classical manner, and a group of young Greek maidens displayed their skill in archery. At the conclusion of this second pentathlon, Hellanodick and Clio awarded laurel wreaths to the ten victors, and the happy Greeks and Romans closed the day.

Classical Club of Greater Boston

The Classical Club of Greater Boston met for luncheon at the Women's Republican Club on April 12, 1930, State Senator Henry Parkman, Jr., presiding. In introducing the special guest of honor, Professor George Herbert Palmer of Harvard, now in his eighty-ninth year, Mr. Parkman spoke of the inestimable value to college students, and the lasting influence upon them, of the presence in their colleges of such gracious personalities, and he read Professor Palmer's own words, from the Introduction to his translation of the *Odyssey*, about simplicity and rhythmical cadence as essential qualities of any version which shall adequately reproduce the effect of Homer's Greek. To a spell-bound group of listeners, Professor Palmer read, as only the writer himself can read such beautiful words, the account of Nausicaa's expedition to the river to wash the garments of the royal household, and the appeal to her of the shipwrecked Odysseus (Book VI) and the recognition of Odysseus by Penelope (Book XXIII).

The following officers for 1930-32 were chosen: as president, Donald Cameron of Boston University; as secretary, Clarence W. Gleason of Roxbury Latin School; and as treasurer, Frank A. Kennedy of Girls' High School.

Centenary College

On April 26, 1930, the Latin teachers held a special program in celebra-

tion of the Bimillennium Vergilianum at Centenary College, Shreveport, La. This was the first meeting of a permanent organization for the promotion of classical studies in northern Louisiana. The program was as follows: reading Tennyson's "To Virgil" by Rolene Rathbun, Centenary College; "Vergil and Lucretius" by Mildred Hogan, Centenary College '30; "The Teaching of Vergil" by I. M. Blackburn of Louisiana College; "Ego Poscor Olympo" by William G. Phelps of Centenary College; reading "Nothing Doing Without Latin" by Dorothy Parks, Centenary College; "Vergil and the English Poets" by J. G. Hazzard, State Teachers College; and "The Contribution of the Classics to Good Citizenship" by Alexander Lee Bondurant, University of Mississippi.

Chicago

The fiftieth meeting of the Chicago Classical Club (1914-1930) was held at the Hotel La Salle on May 10, 1930. The address of the day was delivered by John A. Scott of Northwestern University, the first president, and greetings were received from several other past presidents who were present. Clyde Murley of Northwestern University and Mary J. Moynihan of the Carl Schurz High School were reelected president and secretary respectively for 1930-31.

The Thomas J. Cornwall Memorial was recently dedicated in Garfield Park to World War veterans who had lived on the west side of Chicago. It bears the following inscription: **Go, American, and proclaim to all peoples that we died "over there" in obedience to our laws and in the cause of liberty.** It is obvious that this inscription is based upon the famous epigram of Simonides in honor of the three hundred Spartans who died with Leonidas at Thermopylae in 480 B.C., which has often been considered the most perfect epigram in any language. It was translated by Cicero as follows:

*Dic, hospes, Spartae nos te hic vidisse iacentes,
dum sanctis patriae legibus obsequimur.*

University of Chicago

The forty-second Classical Conference of the University of Chicago was held Saturday morning, May 17, 1930, in the Classics Building. Genevieve Souther of the Lake View High School of Chicago presided. The following papers were presented: "The Course of Study for the Junior High Schools of Chicago: (a) Fundamental Principles" by Madeline Semmelmeier, supervisor of languages, Chicago, and "(b) The Details of the Report" by Mary J. Moynihan, Carl Schurz High School, Chicago; "Footnotes on Rome," by B. L. Ullman, University of Chicago; and "The Later Tradition of Vergil," by Marbury B. Ogle, Ohio State University.

Colorado College

On May 28 and June 7, 1930, the *Andromache* of Euripides was presented in English by members of the Classical Club and the Eta Sigma Phi Chapter at Colorado College.

Grand Island, Nebraska

Teachers of classical languages in the church colleges of Nebraska met in departmental session at Grand Island, Nebr., March 21-22, 1930, in connection with the general meeting of the faculties of these colleges. The following program was given, F. A. Alabaster of Nebraska Wesleyan presiding: "Athens and Vicinity" (illustrated) by Dwight G. Bursage of Doane College; "The Bimillennium of Vergil" by Mrs. Esther Cooper of Cotner College; and "Helps and Suggestions for Prospective Teachers of Latin" by J. C. Morgan of York College. The meeting next spring will be held at York.

Jerseyville, Illinois

The Vergil class of the Jersey Township High School presented an assembly program on May 22, 1930, in celebration of Vergil's Bimillennium. The program consisted of a review of the life and works of the poet with the reading of selections from the *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and the *Aeneid*. This is the first year that there has been a Vergil class in the Jerseyville High School.

Mount Holyoke College

The *Mostellaria* of Plautus was given at Mount Holyoke College on February 18, 1930, under the direction of Blanche Brotherton. On May 10, 1930, the Dramatic Club presented a pageant based on the story of Aeneas with scenes in Carthage, the lower world, and Latium.

Northwestern University

O. F. Long spent the second semester of 1929-30 abroad, mainly in Italy and Germany, on leave of absence from his academic duties at Northwestern University.

The Norman Wait Harris Lectures were delivered on April 29 and 30 and May 1, 2, 5, and 6, 1930, by Edward K. Rand of Harvard University, under the general title of "Vergil the Magician." The individual lectures were "Vergil's Magic," "Epic from Pastoral," "Arcadia from Actualities," "Philosophy from Farming," "Tragedy from Romance," and "Primitive Simplicity from Imperial Rome."

Oak Park, Illinois

The Vergilian Bimillennium was celebrated at the Oak Park and River Forest Township High School on Friday evening, April 25, and Saturday afternoon, April 26, 1930, when elaborate performances were given of

Professor Miller's *Dido the Phoenician Queen*, as adapted by Miss Kruckemeyer. A beautiful souvenir program was prepared for the occasion.

Poughkeepsie, New York

An *Actus Ciceronianus* was held in the college auditorium of St. Andrew-on-Hudson on March 23, 1930, the rhetorical works of Cicero forming the subject matter of the exercise. The exhibition was similar to the *Actus Vergilianus* and the *Actus Homericus* described in the February and April numbers of the JOURNAL in the last volume.

Service Bureau for Classical Teachers

R. V. D. Magoffin, president of the American Classical League, has recently issued a notice of importance to all teachers of Latin: "The Service Bureau for Classical Teachers, which for several years has been located at Teachers College, Columbia University, will be moved to New York University at Washington Square, in September, 1930. The precise address will be 51 West Fourth Street, fifth floor. In the new quarters the Bureau will have greatly increased space and therefore a much better opportunity to display its materials and to assist teachers who come in to use these materials. All teachers will be cordially welcomed. Professor Frances E. Sabin, who has accepted an appointment on the teaching staff of New York University, will continue to direct the Bureau and will also give a graduate course for teachers of Latin in New York University."

Texas Latin Tournament

The seventh Latin Tournament in Texas was held on April 11, 1930, in nine divisions, arranged geographically to make attendance easier, though a school is allowed to choose any center it wishes. One hundred and forty-eight schools entered the contests and sent a total of 683 students as representatives. These were chosen as usual, two from each class; but since some classes begin in January, a separate group for these added something to the number entering.

The program for each city, or center, is usually the same, i.e. registration of contestants at ten in the morning, arrangement for homes where the children are to be entertained during their stay, and then a light luncheon, usually at the cafeteria of the school where the contest is held. At one in the afternoon the written examinations start, and the papers are graded as fast as they come in, by a committee of visiting teachers, with, usually, a college teacher as referee.

For the evening, a banquet is served, to which all the contestants are invited, all visiting teachers, and all friends of the classics who are inter-

ested in coming. This year there was a total of approximately fifteen hundred at the banquets.

The entertainment is arranged by the local school, following throughout, of course, the Roman atmosphere, in menus, dancing, plays, etc. In one which the writer happened to attend, every player and every member of the orchestra was a member of the Latin Club of the local school.

The winners are announced during the banquet, and the papers of these are collected and regraded for state honors as well as for division honors.

Prizes are awarded, sometimes in the form of a medal, a Roman coin, or occasionally in money, though the state committee voted at its last meeting to discourage the latter. It would perhaps be desirable to have a standard medal adopted by all the states that have the tournaments.

As a contribution to the Vergilian celebration, the programs at all the centers during the banquet were Vergilian in some form — plays, songs, etc. — and the favors often had scrolls with quotations and pictures; one city sent each guest away bearing with him a small wooden horse.

In a state-wide Vergil notebook contest, the Sam Houston High School, of Houston, won first place; Austin, second; and Lubbock third.

Lourania Miller of the Dallas schools was chairman of the tournament work for several years and was instrumental in starting the movement. Marian C. Butler of Waco is now in charge of the work.

It is believed that the Tournament has more than paid for the effort expended in carrying it on. It has not only stimulated an interest in the classics among the students themselves but has naturally created interest among the parents and friends both directly and indirectly.

University of Iowa

In connection with the celebration of Vergil's birthday at the University of Iowa on October 15, Frank J. Miller will broadcast over Station WSUI a lecture entitled "Why We Celebrate Vergil's Birthday," beginning at three o'clock central standard time.

University of Virginia

A. D. Fraser has been called from Alfred University to become associate professor of Classical Archaeology at the University of Virginia.

Recent Books¹

Compiled by RUSSEL M. GEER, Brown University

- BEAZLEY, J. D., *Attic Black-Figure, a Sketch*: New York, Oxford University Press (1929). Pp. 50. \$2.50.
- CONNOLLY, H. HUGH, *Didascalia Apostolorum*, the Syriac Version Translated, Accompanied by Verona Latin Fragments, with Introduction and Notes: New York, Oxford University Press (1930). Pp. 372. \$6.
- CRAWFORD, JOHN RAYMOND, *Greek Tales for Tiny Tots*: Bloomington, Ill., Public School Publishing Co. (1930). Pp. 83. Ill. \$1.25.
- DAWKINS, R. M., *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta*, Supplementary Paper No. 5: London, Macmillan and Co. (1930). £5, 5s.
- ELLIS, WILLIS A., *Word Ancestry*, Interesting Stories of the Origins of English Words: Chicago, Chicago Daily News (1930). Pp. 31. \$0.05.
- FRAZER, SIR JAMES GEORGE, *Graecia Antiqua*, Maps and Plans to Illustrate Pausanias' Description of Greece, with Explanatory Text by A. W. Van Buren: New York, Macmillan and Co. (1930). Pp. 173. \$11.
- FULLER, J. B., *Hilarii Versus et Ludi*, Edited from the Paris Manuscript: New York, Henry Holt and Co. (1929). Pp. 122. \$2.
- GOODENOUGH, ERWIN RAMSDELL, *The Jurisprudence of the Jewish Courts in Egypt*: New Haven, Yale University Press (1929). Pp. 275. \$3.
- GRIFFIN, NATHANIEL EDWARD, and MYRICK, ARTHUR BECKWITH, *The Filostrato of Giovanni Boccaccio*, a Translation with Parallel Text: Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press (1929). Pp. x+505. \$6.
- HERRICK, MARVIN THEODORE, *The Poetics of Aristotle in England*: New Haven, Yale University Press (1930). Pp. 196. \$1.75.
- HILEY, F. C. W., *Catulli Carmina*, with Complete Verse Translation: London, P. Davies (1929). 42s.
- Holiday Courses in Europe, 1930*, Compiled by the League of Nations Institute of Intellectual Cooperation: Boston, World Peace Foundation (1930). Pp. 47. \$0.50.
- HOPE, RICHARD, *The Book of Diogenes Laertius, Its Spirit and Method*: New York, Columbia University Press (1930). Pp. 255. \$3.50.
- HUIZINGA, J., *Erasmus*, Deutsch von Werner Kaegi: Basel, Benno Schwabe & Co. (1928). Pp. 248.

¹ Including books received at the Editorial Office of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL in Iowa City.

- KINCAID, C. A., *Successors of Alexander*: London, Pasmore and Co. (1930). Pp. 186. 8s. 6d.
- LAMB, WINIFRED, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*: New York, Dial Press (1929). Pp. 353. \$7.50.
- LAWRENCE, ARNOLD WALTER, *Classical Sculpture*: New York, Cape and Smith (1929). Pp. 579. \$5.
- LINDSAY, J., *Theocritus, Complete Poems*, Translation, with Woodcuts by L. Ellis and Introduction by E. Hutton: London, Fanfrolico Press (1929). Pp. 187. 63s.
- LOWE, E. A., *Scriptura Beneventana*, Facsimiles of South Italian and Dalmatian Manuscripts from the Sixth to the Fourteenth Century, Two Vols. (limited edition): New York, Oxford University Press (1929). \$125.
- LUGLI, *The Classical Monuments of Rome and Its Vicinity*, Translated by Gilbert Bagnani, Vol. I: Rome, Libreria de Scienze e Lettere del Dott. Giovanni Bardi (1930). Pp. 463. Ill.
- MEARS, ELIOT GRINNELL, *Greece Today, the Aftermath of the Refugee Impact*: Stanford University (1929). Pp. xxii+336. \$5.
- MYRES, JOHN LINTON, *Who Were the Greeks?* (Sather Classical Lectures, Vol. VI): Berkeley, University of California Press (1930). Pp. xxxvii+634. \$7.
- NUTTING, HERBERT C., "On the Syntax of Nitor," *University of California Publications in Classical Philology* x (1930), 169-91: Berkeley, University of California Press.
- OLTRAMARE, PAUL, *Sénèque, Questions Naturelles*, Texte Établi et Traduit, Two Vols.: Paris, Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres" (1929).
- OWEN, S. G., *The Year's Work in Classical Studies* xxiii (1929-30): London, J. W. Arrowsmith (1930). Pp. 136. 3s. 6d.
- PENDLEBURY, J. D. S., *Aegyptiaca*, a Catalogue of Egyptian Objects in the Aegean Area: Cambridge, University Press (1930). Pp. 142. 15s.
- PORTER, BERTHA, AND MOSS, ROSALIND L.-B., *Theban Temples*: New York, Oxford University Press (1929). Pp. 222. \$10.
- POST, L. A., *Menander, Three Plays*, Translated and Interpreted: New York, E. P. Dutton and Co. (1929). Pp. viii+128. \$2.25.
- QUILLER-COUCH, SIR ARTHUR, *Studies in Literature*, Vol. III: New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons (1930). Pp. viii+261. \$2.50.
- REINACH, SALOMON, *Orpheus*, a History of Religions²: New York, Horace Liveright (1930). Pp. 494. \$5.
- ROBSON, E. ILIFF, *Arrian, Anabasis Alexandri, Books I-IV*, with an English Translation (Loeb Classical Library): New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons (1929). Pp. xvi+450. \$2.50.
- WOODHOUSE, W. J., *The Composition of Homer's Odyssey*: New York, Oxford University Press (1930). Pp. 251. \$4.25.